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TRAVELS

ROUND THE WORLD,

IN THE YEARS

1767, 1768, 1769, 1770, 1771.

BY

MONSIEUR DE PAGÉS,

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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A

LETTER

TO

MONSIEUR LE COMTE DE C.

SIR,

THE favourable opinion you are pleaſed to expreſs of my Travels, ought not, I am afraid, to be attributed to their merit, but ſolely to

that zeal for the general intereſts of men, and the encouragement of the public ſervice, by which you are eminently diſtinguiſhed.

It was never my intention to ſubmit to the criticiſm of ſtrangers the faults and imperfections of my ſtyle, which, I confeſs, has often appeared defective to myſelf; and nothing but your authority could have engaged me in the deſign of putting my crude diary in order. Monſ. le Comte de Buffon and you have, unfortunately perhaps for me, over-ruled my judgment. Your friendſhip,

friendſhip, and the very flattering ſuffrage of that excellent genius, ſo juſtly celebrated in the annals of literary fame, for his taſte, for his preciſion, and for that incomparable pencil with which he has traced the Hiſtory of Nature, could not fail to ſeduce me. Nevertheleſs, to conſent that my Travels ſhall be offered to the peruſal of the public, muſt be a very perilous compliance; but be it ſo, for, however unaffectedly diffident of myſelf, I cannot decline yielding to your requeſt. It is unneceſſary to ſay, that I have no pretenſions

whatever to the qualities expected in an author; that the buſineſs of active life has afforded me neither time nor opportunity to acquire them; and therefore in the following pages I preſume only to give a ſimple and inartificial deſcription of objects, as they impreſſed themſelves upon my own mind. But, Sir, will the public have the ſame candour and indulgence with you? Will they, for the ſake of ſimple and unadorned truth, excuſe the ſtyle of a military man, who has been long a wanderer in wild and ſavage countries; who

ſeeks only to convey his ſentiments to the reader without confuſion; and who, little concerned for the ornaments of compoſition, is, of all literary talents, ambitious of perſpicuity alone? This work is the production neither of a philoſopher, nor of a man verſant in letters; it is the plain relation of a traveller, the friend of man and of nature, who affects not the applauſe of deep ſagacity, but rather that of candid and common obſervation. In conſidering perſons, manners, and things, the natural ſenſibility of my mind frequently gives occa-

ſion to reflections, which I have no doubt muſt claim the reader's indulgence; and, if he is kindly diſpoſed to be my companion in the courſe of long and painful travels, which I undertook in the hope and very earneſt deſire of ſerving my country, as well as of gratifying the early and innocent propenſities of my own mind, I am confident the indulgence I ſolicit will not be withheld.

I am ſoon to ſail for France: My health is much improved, and the continuance of war renders my pre-

ſence neceſſary at home. But, in ſpite of the very ſincere pleaſure I have in the proſpect of meeting with my friend, I cannot, though my abſence ſhould only prove temporary, part without extreme regret from my delightful valley of Baradaire. Alas! the beauty of this climate, and the peaceful rural borders of my river, accord more with my feelings than the noiſy and contentious ſcenes which await me in Europe. In the conſtancy and reſources of your friendſhip alone I can hope to be compenſated for the ſerene pleaſures I muſt relinquiſh with my preſent retreat.

retreat.——I have the honour to be, with ſentiments the moſt ſincere and reſpectful,

SIR,

Baradaire, in St. Domingo,
10th May 1780.

Your moſt humble,

And moſt obedient ſervant,

PAGÉS.

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A TOUR

A

TOUR ROUND THE WORLD, BY SEA AND LAND.

PART I.

A VOYAGE WESTWARD FROM THE COAST OF FRANCE, CROSSING THE ATLANTIC, AMERICA, THE SOUTH SEA, AND THE CHINESE ARCHIPELAGO, TO THE ISLAND OF JAVA.

CHAP. I.

Concerning the Objects and Motives of the following Travels.

BEFORE I proceed to the narrative of my Voyage round the Globe, I have only to obſerve that, invited by certain circumſtances relative to my private views, as well as the ſervice of the navy, in which I have the honour to be engaged, I conceived the deſign of exploring the Indian ſeas by a weſtern navigation.

Secondly, it was my intention, turning my face towards the north, to traverſe China and Tartary, and having penetrated as far as the coaſt of Kamtſchatka, to direct my induſtry in the line of the Ruſſian ſhores to the diſcovery of the north-weſt paſſage.

To ſtudy the manners and cuſtoms of thoſe northern tribes, to aſſume their dreſs and character, and, by attending them in all their expeditions, to move on from one village to another in the vicinity of the ocean, were the very ſimple means by which I hoped to accompliſh this laſt part of my plan. I had little doubt of meeting this great object of nautical inveſtigation ſomewhere on the northern confines of Siberia; or, if the continuity of land conducted me into the polar regions of America, I ſhould at leaſt have the ſatisfaction to aſcertain the abſolute impoſſibility of any ſuch communication: but being unable to obtain, as will afterwards be mentioned, introductory letters from the miſſionaries of Luconia to their friends in the Chineſe dominions, I was under the neceſſity of deſiſting from this part of my intended expedition.

I uſed, from the very early years of childhood,

hood, to read with lively emotion the relations of travellers who had been engaged in the discovery of unknown countries; and at a more mature age the conquests of European nations in the two Indies, and the adventures of the Russians in the northern parts of that vast empire, awaked my ambition for similar enterprizes; but above all, an ardent desire to survey Nature's works in the native charms with which they came from the hand of the Creator, became in me a principle of action, and obtained entire possession of my mind. I was much persuaded that inconstancy, impatience, and a croud of idle and artificial wants, incident to men who, by reason of their birth and education, have been exclusively invested with the command of every important expedition, would easily account for the little advantage derived to the public from many preceding voyages. Hence I was inclined to infer, that a hardy and laborious manner of life, maintained with fortitude and perseverance, were the only probable means of rendering the toil and industry of the traveller of some benefit to mankind: and,

having an opinion that man is free from malice, innocent, and inoffenſive, in proportion as he is removed from the arts of a refined and luxurious age, an extreme ſimplicity in my whole conduct and character, however diſliked by the faſtidious taſte of the poliſhed European, promiſed to be my beſt recommendations to rude and uninformed minds. In theſe views, I loſt ſight of every difficulty before me, reflected on the outlines of my plan with all the ardour of enthuſiaſm, and was only ſolicitous for an opportunity of carrying it into effect.

Such was the ſtate of my mind, when, in the year 1766, my duty as an officer called me from Rochfort to the iſland of St. Domingo, concerning which I have nothing to obſerve, ſince that country, as well as the navigation thither, have been long ſufficiently known to the public.

In obedience to thoſe maxims, by means of which I hoped to eſcape the miſcarriages of former travellers, I began to train myſelf to habits of life as ſimple and ſevere as new to my experience; a courſe of diſcipline, however, I will fairly own, rather

impoſed

impoſed by neceſſity than embraced from choice, having neither fortune nor credit that could enable me to execute the travels I had in view, among nations either wholly ſavage, little civilized, or for particular reaſons impatient of ſtrangers, in the eaſy and convenient manner I could have wiſhed. I now haſtened to the accompliſhment of my favourite plan, with every degree of alacrity and diſpatch, conſiſtent with the regard I owed to the ſervice; and being invited by circumſtances I might never have found equally propitious to my deſign in any other place than Cape François, I reſolved to depart.

I embarked in a French veſſel bound to New Orleans, relying for ſucceſs in ſubmiſſion to Providence, on my auſtere habits of life, courage, and perſeverance, whereby I hoped to overcome all the toil and fatigue of my travels, and even the hardſhips of bodily labour, when on any occaſion circumſtances might render it expedient. New Orleans had lately been ceded to the Spaniards, but ſtill I was in hopes it might be poſſible to paſs through that country, which lies be-

tween the river Miſſiſippi and Rio Grande, or Bravo, which ſeparates the province of Louiſiana from New Spain, and which is inhabited merely by ſavage tribes. This comprehends an immenſe extent of country; but undiſmayed by the many difficulties in my way, I determined to purſue the line of march I had projected, and endeavour to enter the province of New Spain by the frontiers of New Mexico.

CHAP. II.

My Paſſage from the Iſland of St. Domingo to New Orleans, and my Abode in that Place.

WE ſet ſail from Cape François the laſt day of June 1767, ſteering for the old canal; and the wind being eaſterly, our courſe was directed towards the weſt-north-weſt. Keeping more to the north-weſt, we gradually loſt ſight of land, and paſſed north of St. Nicholas, at the diſtance of

of eight leagues. Continuing our courſe under the ſame wind, we ſoon obſerved the coaſt of Cuba, ſaw Cape de Mulas, and then proceeded in queſt of the iſlands de Palumas, which form, on the ſide of the main, the entrance to the old canal; but in order to make ſure of theſe iſlands, their ſituation being extremely low, we had been at great pains to aſcertain Cape de Mulas; for the continuation of the coaſt of Cuba is not eaſily perceived, and it requires all the ſkill and addreſs of an intelligent pilot to approach it without danger. We entered the canal with the iſlands de Palumas on the larboard, and Sandy iſlands on the ſtarboard ſide. It is here five leagues in breadth, and continues very much the ſame till you reach the diſtance of about ſixty leagues. The old canal is formed on the ſide of the ocean by a chain of ſmall iſlands and rocks, which extends to the canal of the Bahamas; and on the ſide of the iſland of Cuba by a reef of rocks and ſand-banks, ſtretching out of ſight from land.

The wind was ſtill at eaſt, with a gentle breeze; and having the advantage of

the current, we had the good fortune to clear the canal in the ſpace of four days. It is ſurpriſing that ſhips which have occaſion to navigate thoſe ſeas expoſe themſelves to a long, and, by reaſon of frequent calms, a tedious voyage ſouth-weſt of Cuba; ſince, by purſuing the old canal, if the maſter is but properly on his guard, all thoſe inconveniencies may eaſily be avoided. We now ſtood directly for Matance, an inland mountain, weſtward from a bay of the ſame name, which ſeems to overtop the circumjacent mountains in the form of a hat, whence it has been named Chapeau de Matance. Having diſcovered the Havannah in the iſland of Cuba, we ſtood off the coaſt, and proceeded to inveſtigate the ſoundings of the Turtle iſlands, ſituated ſouth-weſt from Cape Florida. Sounding in the ſouth-weſt of theſe iſles, where they are ſtill unperceived on account of their very low ſituation, we had fifty fathoms water, on a bottom of blackiſh ſand, and this they deem the characteriſtic mark of thoſe ſoundings. We veered a little to the weſt, in order to ſtretch acroſs the curvature formed by the gulph

gulph of Florida, and we immediately loſt them. Here we were detained by frequent calms, and ſaw multitudes of gold fiſh, uncommonly large, and about five feet in length: they are diſtinguiſhed by a variety of beautiful colours, which play upon the eye in an entertaining manner. I obſerved that the force of the current from ſouth to north (a current probably owing to the trade winds, and the poſition of the neighbouring lands) was moſt powerful when the north wind blew with the greateſt impetuoſity. This appearance I can only explain by ſuppoſing that the billows, driven by the violence of the north wind againſt a reef of rocks which ſtretches away to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, rebounding, paſs over their heads, and fall into a calm ſea; when its level being raiſed above that of the ocean, the waters in recovering their equipoiſe exhibit this extraordinary phænomenon.

We were now approaching the mouths of the Miſſiſippi, the entrance to which is dangerous to ſhipping, not only from the inconvenience of large trees carried down by

by the ſtream, but likewiſe from the jeopardy of being drifted acroſs the channel into the bay of St. Bernard, a bay which, by reaſon of its many rocks and ſand-banks, is particularly dreaded by navigators. As the arrival of veſſels is generally from the eaſt, and as the wind is moſt prevalent in the ſame quarter, it has been found that ſailing in a north-weſt direction is more convenient than due north; beſides, that by the former route there is leſs hazard of being carried into the bay of St. Bernard. We entered the ſouthern or principal mouth of the river, with the aſſiſtance of a pilot.

I was extremely ſurpriſed with the beauty of the Miſſiſippi, whoſe waters, after mixing with the ſea, preſerve their ſweetneſs and pale colour two or three leagues from ſhore. The force of the current, ſtill perceptible at that diſtance, carries out to ſea vaſt trees, which have fallen from the decay of age, or have been rooted out by the ſtream, to the moleſtation of ſuch ſhips as happen to come in their way.

In the free and regular courſe of the river, it runs at leaſt two leagues and a half an

an hour. The waters ſwelling towards the ſides by the great rapidity of the current, acquire a motion different from that in the middle. We made it our buſineſs to profit of this circumſtance, by keeping the veſſel in the eddy; but in ſpite of every precaution we aſcended ſlowly. The wind, though rather in our favour, was very inconſiderable, and we had frequently to contend with currents of extreme rapidity. Our hardſhips were alſo greatly aggravated by vaſt ſwarms of muſcatoes and ſand-flies, the ſtings of which are exquiſitely painful. The low and marſhy banks of the Miſſiſippi are covered with reeds, which are particularly favourable to the increaſe of theſe inſects; and nature, one would think, is at pains to diverſify their ſpecies, with a view to render the ſuffering they occaſion to the traveller as various as it is poignant; for I could perceive the ſenſations of pain to differ with the form, ſize, and colour of the fly. Here the vaſt green ſurface of reeds preſented to the eye, tall and undulating like the waves of the ſea, might have afforded an entertaining

ing proſpect, could we have forgotten to what malicious gueſts they gave ſhelter. The moſt troubleſome ſpecies of theſe inſects during the heat of the ſun is named *frappe d'abord*, a fly which bites the inſtant it alights on the ſkin, with ſuch effect that the blood immediately follows, and hence the origin of its name. The freſh breeze of the evening baniſhes them to the covert of their reeds, but they are ſucceeded by myriads of gnats, which we endeavoured to diſſipate by means of thick ſmoke, a remedy in uſe among the natives of Louiſiana againſt the ſting and importunity of this intolerable race of inſects.

Having continued aſcending to the diſtance of ten leagues, we came to the ſeparation of that branch which forms the ſouth-eaſt mouth of the Miſſiſippi; and here we paſſed an oyſter marſh, in which were ſhells of prodigious ſize, uſed by the inhabitants for the purpoſes of lime-ſtone. The fenny borders of the river afford a retreat to multitudes of moraſs fowl, which, for the ſake of their oil, receive an annual viſit from the induſtrious inhabitants of New

New Orleans. Fifteen leagues above the mouths of the river we came to the creek Plaquemines, ſo named from a kind of fruit very pleaſant to the taſte. Here the country beginning to riſe above the level of the Miſſiſippi, the ſcenery becomes truly magnificent. On each bank are trees of wonderful ſize, which warped in the wild luxuriance of plants and underwood, form a thick wood inacceſſible to the rays of the ſun. Having made my way with much difficulty into the foreſt, the ſoil matted with a compoſt of rotten leaves and branches, preſented in ſome places agreeable walks, whilſt here and there we were intercepted by pools of ſtagnating water, or by enormous trunks of trees, which a long ſeries of ages had levelled with the ground. The ſwan and cardinal, natives of theſe woods, are eminently beautiful in their plumage, and the warbling of the laſt is equally ſweet and delicate with that of the fineſt ſongſter in Europe. In the nooks and angles of this river we met with ducks, teal, and other wild fowl in abundance, nor is its ſtream ſcantily ſupplied in different kinds

kinds of large fiſh, ſuch as the barbed and armed fiſh, whoſe ſharp armour frequently admoniſhes the fiſherman to avoid imprudent eagerneſs in ſeizing his prey. The wounds inflicted by theſe animals are conſtantly attended with inflammation and ſwelling.

In this little bay of the Miſſiſippi we were overtaken by a violent ſtorm, which, as we were moored to a tree, ſnapped our cable, and dragged the anchor to the oppoſite ſide. I find it is more common in the courſe of this navigation to ſecure the veſſel by means of hawſers faſtened on the bank, than by dropping anchor, becauſe it is extremely difficult to heave up, on account of the large trees which lie ſcattered in the bed of the river.

We began to meet with houſes and plantations of rice and Indian corn. Rice is ſeldom ſown here but in fields, which being only one or two feet above the level of the river, admit of canals for the purpoſe of watering them. Indian corn is cultivated over the whole province of Louiſiana, but the crops are no where

equally fine and abundant as in this part of the country. The houſes of the inhabitants are tolerably pleaſant, and erected ſeveral feet above the ſurface of the ground, in order to guard againſt the humidity of the ſoil, ſerpents, and other noxious animals. The floor is conſtructed of ſquare ſections of large timber, dove-tailed and ſupported by ſtrong beams and pillars. The body of the building, reſting on another ſet of pillars, has four façades, with a gallery to each, and contains the family apartments. They conſiſt only of one ſtory, and are covered with thin pieces of cypreſs wood, diſpoſed and fixed on the roof in the manner of European ſlating. Each houſe borders with a piece of water, and is ſet down in the middle of a little plantation about two hundred paces ſquare. The noble trees which once occupied this ſoil have been employed in building and in fencing the plantations; and in order to get rid of the remainder with the leaſt trouble and difficulty, they uſually burn it. In plantations, however, newly incloſed, one ſtill meets with large trunks, which

which coſt the planter much labour to root out and clear them away.

After aſcending eight leagues further, we came to a creek which belongs to the Engliſh, and at the diſtance of five leagues higher, on the 28th July, we dropped anchor oppoſite to New Orleans. This city ſtands about thirty leagues above the mouths of the river, and only one from a lake which communicates with plantations lately ceded to the Engliſh. All the way from three leagues above the creek Plaquemines, the borders are cultivated and populous. The harbour of New Orleans is large and commodious, its population but moderate; the houſes are built of brick, the ſtreets clean and broad, and ſome buildings, particularly thoſe which belong to the king, are extremely handſome. The reſident inhabitants conſiſt of the garriſon, and ſuch as hold public employments, merchants, and artizans of all denominations. The planters, who are properly attentive to the cultivation of their eſtates, as well as merchants who live far up the country for the purpoſe of trading

trading with the ſavages, are only ſeen in the capital during the intervals of their induſtry and traffic.

I cannot ſufficiently admire the bold and intrepid character peculiar to the people of Louiſiana, who, embracing the life of ſavages, aſſume their dreſs, and, for a very ſlender recompence, ſubmit to all their moſt laborious occupations. While ſome of them wander towards the ſea-ſhore in the chace of moraſs fowls, whoſe oil adminiſters to a ſmall branch of traffic, others ramble four or five hundred leagues into the country to hunt the bear, the deer, and the wild buffalo, and return loaded with their ſkins, containing the fleſh and fat in a dried ſtate of preſervation. Some penetrate into the depths of their foreſts in ſearch of the cedar, the cypreſs, and the maple-trees, which afford them a very profitable trade with the American iſlands. To tranſport the peculiar productions of their own ſoil to theſe iſlands, and bring back in exchange different articles of commerce, is the employment of others. Some, in fine, carry commodities four or five hundred leagues into the country, by an inland

navigation, and on theſe occaſions are known to ſubdue with the oar currents of amazing rapidity. On their expeditions by land they live entirely on the game they happen to kill; while a looſe ſhirt, and a ſtripe of cloth tied about their loins, ſerve them for cloathing. They travel, however, as much as poſſible by water, and employ canoes, or rather excavated trees, for the purpoſe of conveying themſelves and families to the ſcene of hunting or traffic. Upon their arrival a hut, conſiſting of the branches of trees plaiſtered over with mud, being reared for their accommodation, they begin to exerciſe their induſtry, particularly in diſcovering what is called the waxen-tree; from whoſe twigs they contrive to detach that ſubſtance, in the following manner: having cut the ſmall branches in pieces, and placed them in a kind of tub, taking care to leave a certain ſpace between the ſticks and the bottom of the veſſel, they make a warm ley continue to run over them for ſeveral days. Meanwhile the greaſy particles are inſenſibly ſeparated from the twigs, and falling to the bottom form a ſediment which cools into

into a cake of greeniſh wax, fit for the manufacture of candles. Theſe occupations render the inhabitants of Louiſiana a very hardy race, and train their minds as well as bodies to thoſe bold and laborious purſuits from which they retire for temporary relaxation to the city of New Orleans.

I was no leſs diſpoſed to take a little eaſe and recreation after the ſevere fatigue which the new manner of life I exerciſed in my paſſage from Cape François had occaſioned. For, in order to begin by times to habituate myſelf to bodily labour, I had made it my buſineſs, inexperienced as I was, to perform the whole duty of a ſailor. At New Orleans I made every enquiry reſpecting the poſſibility of travelling by land to New Spain; and learning that the laſt French ſettlement among the ſavages in the ſouth-weſt, named Nachitoches, is only ſeven leagues diſtant from the firſt Spaniſh poſt, named Adaés, I reſolved to undertake this perilous journey.

Meanwhile I paſſed my time in admiring the beauty of the country about New Orleans; where I ſaw, for the firſt time in my

life, the people we call ſavages: I could diſcover, however, no reaſon for their having received this harſh appellation, except it be that their manners are more ſimple, and their occupations more bold and manly, than ours. One trait of character I have often admired in the ſavage, I mean that phlegmatic ſerenity of mind which never forſakes him in any ſituation, or under any event, adverſe or proſperous. I viewed, with agreeable ſurprize, the noble ſhapes which grace the perſons of both ſexes; the cheſnut or olive complexion; the muſcles unincumbered with fat, ſtrong, nervous, and elaſtic. But though the face is undoubtedly the part of the human figure which is chiefly intereſting, yet I confeſs I had more pleaſure in ſurveying the ſavage as a fine model for the ſtatuary in the graceful muſcles of his body and limbs. That bold tendon which runs on each ſide of the ſpinal bone, has, in a ſtate of nature, a very ſtriking effect. The boſom of the female, though by no means large, is round and elaſtic; and ſhe uſually deſigns a roſe about the nipple by a particular preparation of gunpowder. In both

ſexes

ſexes the features of the face are heavy, without inducing, however, a ſtupid, or inſenſible expreſſion. The rude ſhort locks of the ſavage hang careleſsly about his ears, while his brow is encircled with a chaplet of beads, and his perſon with the ſame gaudy ornament in the form of a ſaſh. The women are particularly fond of this trinket; and I am uncertain whether the European female in all her jewels, or the ſimple Indian decorated with her beads, is moſt vain of her appearance. A piece of deer-ſkin tied round the waiſt is a covering in common to male and female; but on the latter it is longer, and deſcends to the calf of the leg; and when the ſavage is diſpoſed to ſquat on the ground, a poſture to which he is extremely addicted, a large ſkin or blanket defends him from the inclemencies of the weather.

The ſavages repair to New Orleans in order to purchaſe a luxury, of which, unfortunately for them, we have taught them the abuſe; and give in exchange for this pernicious drug, fruit, fiſh, fowls, and game. I had the curioſity to buy ſome of their fiſh,

which I found very coarſely prepared, but in a manner to remain a long time without danger of ſpoiling. The external ſurface of the fiſh is ſcorched to a kind of cinder, and the inward ſubſtance, being by this means diſcharged of thoſe juices which accelerate putrefaction, is preſerved to ſupply their future wants.

CHAP. III.

My Paſſage from New Orleans, by the Miſſiſippi and Red River, to the Settlement of Nachitoches, and my Abode in that Place.

DURING the ſhort time I paſſed at New Orleans, which was ſcarce ſeven days, a merchant cauſed equip a canoe of five oars, in order to trade with the Indians in the neighbourhood of Nachitoches; and therefore, embracing this opportunity of purſuing my travels, I embarked and ſailed the 4th of Auguſt. Our bark was thirty-five feet by four, and made to go lightly

lightly and ſteadily through the water. She conſiſted of a ſingle tree, and her head was only a protuberance of wood, which roſe two feet above the hulk in the form of a ſhell half opened. The ſides of the ſhell, preſenting their edges to the current, were meant to divert the water at the bottom of the falls, and likewiſe, dividing the ſtream in our aſcent, ſerved as a precaution againſt the danger of overſetting in the river. We were in all eight perſons on board: five rowers, of whom two were negroes, one a Canadian, lately arrived from that country by land; the maſter, the proprietor, and myſelf.

The rapidity of the current, joined to many other embarraſſments, obliged us to ſail below the rate of four leagues a-day; embarraſſments chiefly ariſing from drifted trees, which lay entangled in the bed and borders of the river: their poſition is commonly acroſs the ſtream, and forming a kind of barrier, changes the direction and augments the rapidity of the current; a circumſtance which renders the navigation of the river extremely dangerous, as the canoe is

in conſtant jeopardy of ſticking faſt on the trunk or ſtump of a tree.

On each ſide of the river we begin to obſerve excellent crops of indigo and Indian corn, with different kinds of fruit, particularly peaches in abundance. Here cultivation is conducted in a more regular manner, and advances further into the woods, than we found it lower down on our way to New Orleans. We paſſed ſeveral handſome houſes and gardens, which belong to French planters; and a few leagues farther on met with a German colony, who are in every reſpect equal in point of induſtry to the French. We then came upon two diſtricts of Acadian refugees, who, being the laſt ſettlers, are neither in the ſame eaſy circumſtances, nor have they acquired equal ſkill in the purſuits of huſbandry. Theſe little colonies terminate on the left ſide of the river, at a canal which communicates with * lake Ponchartrain;

* During the time the French were in poſſeſſion of Fort Manchée, on the borders of this canal, the Engliſh, becoming maſters of the Miſſiſippi by the peace of 1763, erected another on the oppoſite ſide. But as this canal communicates with Florida, by means of the Miſſiſippi and Ponchartrain; and

Ponchartrain; and here ends the iſland of New Orleans, formed by the ſea, the Miſſiſippi, the canal, lake Ponchartrain, and the river Mobille. The diſtance from hence to New Orleans they reckon thirty leagues, a ſpace wholly covered with a border of plantations at ſmall intervals from one another. On the left ſide of the river we came to ſeveral villages of ſavage Indians, named *Choctas* and *Tounicas*, of which were thoſe I had ſeen at New Orleans. On the ſame ſide of the river we arrived at a conſiderable French ſettlement, called *Pointe Coupé*, and here tobacco is the only production not found in Louiſiana: the qualities of their ſoil, and the ſtructure of their houſes, are nearly the ſame as in that province; and the inhabitants have the manners of New Orleans, only a little leſs civilized. On days of feſtivity they appear decently dreſſed; but in their ordinary habit of hunters

and as the Miſſiſippi, of which they had obtained the free navigation, runs from Canada all along the province of New England, they were enabled to open a trade with the ſavages weſt from thoſe boundaries, and probably began to extend their views to the kingdom of Mexico.

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they wear only a ſhirt, with a ſlip of cloth to cover their nakedneſs. At home the women wear a ſhort ſingle petticoat, without a ſhift, having their ſhoulders and boſoms completely expoſed. This country is tolerably populous, and lies contiguous to different lakes, which afford the inhabitants a communication with Aperouſſas, another French ſettlement farther to the weſtward. A little higher, and on the other ſide of the river, is a ſavage village, which, like all thoſe I have met with on the Miſſiſippi, uſe muſkets and tomahauks, and the natives of which may be ſaid to retain nothing of the ſavage but the name. It is their buſineſs, in ſummer, to cultivate fields of Indian corn; and in winter they follow the chace, the produce of which, after ſupplying their own neceſſities, is ſold to Europeans. They let themſelves out occaſionally as hired ſervants, for here two of our rowers having fallen ill, were replaced with a couple of ſavages.

The hair of the beard, which in general they are at much pains to pull out by the roots, is permitted to grow the fifth of an

inch as an emblem of mourning. I have had occaſion to obſerve in the Philippine iſles the ſame paucity of beard, and I believe this to be univerſal among all the genuine natives of hot climates. The ſavages are often ſeen to weep over the graves of their departed relations. The wife of one of the Indians we had taken into the boat being lately deceaſed, his beard was allowed to grow, in teſtimony of his ſorrow; and this poor man engaged in our ſervice for no other reaſon but that he might withdraw himſelf from the preſence of thoſe objects which conſtantly recalled her to his mind. One day, having gone aſide to weep over the memory of his departed friend, he unexpectedly ſpied his little daughter, about the age of twelve years, ſwimming in the river with her companions. He caught her eye, and inſtantly turned away from her; but the young ſavage had already perceived his affliction, and therefore quitting her amuſement, fell into a fit of melancholy, and retired to the ſolitude of her hut.

Their mode of ſwimming is ſomewhat different from ours. The ſavage flings himſelf

himſelf into the water, and darting forward with aſtoniſhing force, beats the river with his feet and hands; an exerciſe in which both ſexes are equally expert.

Our other ſavage was a young man who had been lately married, and his wife expected the moment of their ſeparation with the utmoſt regret. We were apprehenſive ſhe might prevail upon him to renounce his engagement; and it was not without much art and perſuaſion we were able to reſtrain him from complying with her entreaties. The bribe, however, of a blanket for himſelf, and a piece of red cloth for her, caſt the balance in our favour! ſo true it is that ſelf-intereſt early aſſumes the controul of our beſt and moſt ſocial affections. Still, however, he appeared irreſolute; and new reaſons were conſtantly pretended for returning once more to his cabin. But perceiving there would be no end to this conflict between intereſt and affection, I at laſt propoſed to remove the canoe from the view of his hut to the oppoſite extremity of the village, and he was no longer averſe from following us.

This village might conſiſt of ſixty cottages, which, like other ſavage habitations, are made of large trees planted circularly in the ground, and meeting at the top in the ſhape of a cone. The interſtices occaſioned by the round figure of the tree being filled up with leaves and branches, are plaiſtered over with mud, and here the family finds ſhelter from the inclemencies of the ſeaſon. In the middle of the floor is placed the fire, whoſe ſmoke makes its eſcape either by the door, or by an aperture at the junction of the trees in the top of the hut. Round the area ſtands a kind of bench formed by ſhort ſections of trees placed contiguouſly to each other, which is covered with a mat of reeds, and ſerves them for beds.

At the diſtance of three or four paces from the manſion of the chief is a ſecond open hut or gallery, where he enjoys the freſh air, and is ſheltered from the ſevere heat of the ſun. This laſt is thatched over with leaves, commonly ſupported by ſix pillars, and is the hall of the national aſſembly. Here the chiefs exerciſe their hoſpitality to ſtrangers, and relax from their

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cares and fatigues, either by ſleeping, or ſmoking their tomahauks. This piece of ſavage armour is a ſpecies of battle-ax, the handle of which is uſually perforated, and ſerves as a tube to an iron pipe-head fixed on the back of the inſtrument.

As ſoon as a ſtranger is ſeen to approach the village, his arrival is announced by a ſcream from the ſavages who firſt happen to perceive him. The chief and principal men of the tribe immediately aſſemble, each ſitting before his own hut, and ſend him a deputation of one of their number. We commonly made him a preſent, conſiſting of a bottle of liquor, and were ſure to receive an ample recompence in fruit, fiſh, and fowls. We were next invited to aſſiſt in ſmoking tobacco, mixed with a certain leaf, which in its ſhape reſembles that of the peach-tree. In ſhort, I was much better received as a ſtranger by thoſe ſavages, than I had been by any European I had yet met with ſince the commencement of my travels.

The men of this nation are tall and well-proportioned, have large full features, without, however, any thing diſguſtingly coarſe

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in their expreſſion. They pay much deference and reſpect to old age, marry early, and, without being addicted to jealouſy, are extremely affectionate to their wives. Divorce, though permitted by their manners, very rarely occurs in experience. The infrequency of proſtitution obſervable in ſavage nations may be owing, among other cauſes, to the little intercourſe that prevails between the ſexes. The purſuits of war, hunting, and fiſhing, are the conſtant occupations of the men: while the cultivation of the fields, which conſiſts chiefly in rearing peach-trees, ſowing a little Indian corn, gourds, and melons; cooking their fiſh and game; and the office of tranſporting their baggage, in caſe of a diſtant expedition, are thoſe of the women. In the fine ſeaſon they wear the ſkin of a roe-buck tied round the waiſt, and in winter wrap themſelves in an European blanket, or in the ſkin of the buffalo. This animal has much reſemblance to the ox, with this only difference, that he has a bunch or ſwelling on his back, like that of the ſame ſpecies in the Eaſt Indies. The ſavages have the art of tanning

ning his hide without ſtripping off the hair, which, though fine like ſilk, has the ſpongy quality of wool, and affords excellent defence againſt the cold. I was ſurpriſed to obſerve the apparently careleſs manner in which a mother is accuſtomed to nurſe her infant. Inſtead of a cradle, ſhe uſes a kind of frame, in which the child is made faſt; but as the upper part of this machine is lower than the ſhoulders, his head is left to hang in a very aukward poſture; and, except offering him the breaſt when ſhe finds it convenient, ſhe ſeems to give herſelf no farther concern about him. In caſes of ſurgery they have recourſe to plants, particularly to the leaf of the ſquine, which they have found to have much efficacy in curing wounds: and as to the medical art, they have but ſmall pretenſions; eating ſparingly, and drinking water, being eſteemed an excellent remedy againſt all manner of diſeaſes.

The ſavages of thoſe parts are a laborious, humane, and brave race of men. Peace and good order ſeem equally eſtabliſhed in their families and villages. Their

regular

regular performance of all the reciprocal duties of life, of the young towards the aged, of the father towards his children, of the huſband towards his wife; their courteous manner of receiving ſtrangers, and the little apprehenſion they entertain of their enemies, gave me a very high opinion of their generoſity and courage. In the courſe of different wars, the French as well as the Spaniards have had experience of their valour in the field. This nation was juſt returned from an expedition againſt the Engliſh, whom they ſeem to conſider as very reſtleſs and troubleſome neighbours. In their extenſive peregrinations during the hunting-ſeaſon they encounter perils and hardſhips which appear almoſt incredible to the effeminate European. Neither the impetuous current of their rivers, nor the ſavage aſperity of a wild and uncultivated ſoil, can reſiſt their unabating ardour for the chace.

We came up with two iſlands, which forming three channels, occaſion much inconvenience to the navigation of the river. But the majeſty of the Miſſiſippi never

for a moment eſcaped my attention; which, continuing nearly of the ſame magnitude at this great height, may be properly claſſed with the largeſt and moſt beautiful rivers in the univerſe. Nay, after having aſcended to the vaſt diſtance of eight hundred leagues from the ſea, the change in its dimenſions is ſtill ſo little perceived, that it is impoſſible for the traveller thence to ſuppoſe that he is approaching its ſources. The water of the Miſſiſippi is the ſweeteſt and moſt palatable I ever taſted; and its lofty banks are fringed with trees, eſpecially cypreſſes, of a prodigious height. The principal rivers which fall into its channel, are the Red and Black, the Miſſuri and Fair Rivers. It communicates with various lakes beſides thoſe bordering on Canada, whither it is practicable to aſcend in a canoe with little interruption. Our difficulties in contending with the force of the ſtream were always great; but at times happening to fall into the direction of a current particularly violent, we have been kept half an hour tugging at the oar without advancing a couple of yards. In order to prevent the canoe's

canoe's going adrift, as well as to ſupply the place of our young ſavage, whoſe health had been impaired by change of diet, I was frequently under the neceſſity of performing the duty of a rower; but my labour was amply rewarded by the grandeur of the ſcene every where preſented to the eye. Here the canoe grazed along large tracts of ſand and gravel, on which lay extended trees of enormous ſize, whoſe duſky and mouldering appearance ſhewed their depoſition by the current to be an event of high antiquity. Theſe were ſucceeded by a low and marſhy beach, where the crocodile or aligator crept ſluggiſhly among the reeds, an animal equally offenſive to the ſight and ſmell. Riſing ſtill on the ample boſom of the Miſſiſippi, at leaſt half a mile in breadth, we were preſented on each ſide with ſmooth banks and ſtately cypreſſes, garniſhed in the luxuriance of the *liane*, a plant which, after twiſting round them to a vaſt height, falls dangling to the ground. By means of ſmall openings the eye might pierce into a thick wood, and perceive, under a perpetual ſhade, ſpaces of

meadow or moraſs, or the ſoil ſtrewed with the maſſy ruins of the venerable oak. Trees which, judging by their colour and bark, one would have deemed freſh and ſound in their ſubſtance, crumbled into duſt the moment they were ſubmitted to the touch. We now rowed under its more elevated banks, where the ſoil tumbling into the river, diſcovers to the view enormous roots, which announce the ſudden and approaching fall of their impending trunks. In fine, the earth, ſapped by the current, and yielding to the incumbent weight, ſhoots with all its trees into the river, occaſioning an awful noiſe, which is often heard at a great diſtance. In the progreſs of this curious navigation I was fortunate enough, though at a league's diſtance, to hear two of thoſe diſmal convulſions. The craſh, augmented and continued by echoes, propagated in that vaſt foreſt which extends all along the borders of the Miſſiſippi, excited dreary but ſolemn emotions in my mind.

In our ſlow but perſevering aſcent againſt the current, we paſſed from time to time the houſes

houſes and dairies of Engliſh as well as French families, who had relinquiſhed the ſtrife and buſtle of the world, for the quiet retirement of the woods. I am ſatisfied this propenſity, however ſtrange it may ſeem, is not peculiar to certain recluſe individuals, but in common to a great proportion of mankind; for I have ſeen many who had voluntarily withdrawn from the reſtraints of civilized life, and embraced, with the freedom, the habits and purſuits of the Indian; but I have never met with one ſavage who had ſhewn a ſimilar predilection for our cuſtoms and manners: the fact ſeems to be, that his union with ſociety is in all inſtances the effect of education. Having been allured from the deſert to ſhare in the comforts of a cultivated ſoil, he ſoon finds that his neceſſities are more eaſily as well as more certainly ſupplied; and acquiring wants, which till then he was wholly unacquainted with, he is gradually corrupted from the manly and laborious purſuits of his former life.

We had mounted from the mouths of the Miſſiſippi fourſcore leagues, almoſt due

north, when we at length arrived at the confluence of Red River; and as it deſcends from the weſt, and paſſes in the neighbourhood of Nachitóches, we were here obliged to bid adieu to thoſe noble and intereſting ſcenes. We now, therefore, ſteered into water of a dirty and reddiſh colour, which in taſte, as well as appearance, was greatly inferior to what we had been lately accuſtomed to. A mean feeble ſtream, creeping ſilently along a low ſlimy beach, was naturally contraſted with the bold and rapid currents of the Miſſiſippi. Dwarfiſh woods, compared with the ſtately foreſts we had juſt left behind us, and a ſoil chilled and impoveriſhed by the winter floods, which remain ſeveral months on the adjacent grounds, exhibited all the energies of nature in a tamer mood. Here the roebuck feeds quietly in the meadows, and a flock of wild turkies as large as thoſe of Europe croſs the river almoſt directly over our heads. We paſſed the *Acor de Mur*, an eminence ſo named from its riſing to a peak in the middle of a circumjacent plain; and being, by reaſon of the

the annual floods, the only habitable ſpot in thoſe regions, may be regarded as the key to Red River. Rowing acroſs the mouth of Black River, which deſcends from the north-weſt, the country becomes higher, and our proſpects more lively and intereſting. We ſaw ſeveral bears, and I was told the banks are infeſted by a ſpecies of tiger. It was on this part of Red River I made a viſit to an old French officer, who had retired to the ſolitude of thoſe woods with his wife and a few negro ſlaves, where he cultivates a piece of ground, and takes care of his cattle.

Having now navigated Red River for ſeveral days, we came to the bottom of a fall about eight feet high, in the vicinity of which are a number of French families, who intermarry with the ſavages. We found it neceſſary to unload, and hired a Frenchman to pilot the canoe, which, with the aſſiſtance of ſavages from the adjacent country, we propoſed to pull up a declivity formed by the friction of the water on the bed of the river. The pilot remained in the boat, while we, taking our ſtations at two ropes

on the top of the fall, haled it towards us in the direction my countryman thought proper to give it. We re-loaded our canoe, and continued our navigation; but we had ſcarce proceeded two leagues when we met with a ſimilar interruption, and were obliged to repeat the ſame vexatious taſk. We were now only twenty leagues from Nachitoches, but the moſt difficult part of our expedition was ſtill before us. Two of our rowers had fallen ſick, and we were all under the neceſſity, without diſtinction, of plying the oar; a toil the moſt cruelly ſevere I ever experienced. This, however, was not our only hardſhip, for, as we repoſed during the night on a moiſt and muddy bank, a prey to vermin, and infeſted with the aligator, it cannot be ſuppoſed that our ſleep was of a nature to afford us much refreſhment. The aligator is ſo extremely familiar that he uſed to come on ſhore even in the day-time, to devour the remainder of our meals. The coarſe ruſticity of my negro and ſavage companions was likewiſe extremely diſguſting.

Three days afterwards we were ſtopped at

at the bottom of a third fall, above which we met with a large ſheet of water, very properly named Muddy Lake. Our pilot, who had accompanied us from the firſt fall, conducted us over it. Here the river, it would ſeem, had once a different courſe from the preſent, for it diſperſes and loſes itſelf with little current over a ſpace of about three leagues in circumference. We had ſeldom more than half a foot water, on a bottom of deep mud, full of roots and ſtumps of trees, which appear waſting with the lapſe of time on the ſurface of the lake. In order to facilitate our progreſs, we got into the water, and puſhed the canoe before us; but in ſpite of every effort of care and activity, ſhe ſtruck inceſſantly againſt ſome trunk or root, upon which, at times, ſhe remained ſuſpended, as on an axis. Theſe were very embarraſſing ſituations; from which, after a ſevere ſtruggle to diſengage her, ſcarce one of us could retire without wounds in his legs and thighs, occaſioned by ſtumps and ſhells concealed under the water.

Having at laſt, however, ſurmounted the difficulties

difficulties of Muddy Lake, we plied our oars with great diligence till we arrived at a current which, owing to a ſlope in the ground, and various obſtructions in the bed of the river, was particularly rapid. Our former embarraſſments had been attended with much labour and difficulty, but this preſented imminent danger to our lives; for had the canoe deviated in the ſmalleſt degree from the direct thread of the ſtream, we muſt inevitably have gone to the bottom. Happily we eſcaped without the ſlighteſt misfortune, and in two days hence, viz. on the ſecond of September, we came to what is regarded as the principal obſtruction to the navigation of Red River; an obſtruction occaſioned by the river's making a ſweep acroſs a vaſt maſs of trees and branches, accumulated in proceſs of time by the drift of the current. We began to conſider whether it might not be practicable to open ourſelves a paſſage with the ſpade; but as I ſoon perceived this, at any rate, muſt be a very tedious operation, and as we were now only a ſhort league from Nachitoches, I determined to travel the remainder of our

journey by land. In this neighbourhood dwells a female Creole, married to a ſavage, in whoſe houſe we dined, and by whom we were received with much hoſpitality.

The woods begin to be frequented by hunters, and the keepers of cattle; woods which, being gradually cleared, according to the exigencies of the inhabitants, have in ſome degree the open appearance of our own, and give notice of our being now on the confines of an European ſettlement. By-and-by we came to an extenſive meadow, interſperſed with ſmall plantations of tobacco and Indian corn; and here I could perceive on an eminence before us a ſquare ſpace, incloſed with large palliſadoes ſtanding cloſe to each other, and driven into the ground. This I learned ſerved as a fort to the ſettlement; beyond which, and at ſome diſtance, ſtood a number of little wooden houſes, in a ſtrait line, but at large intervals from one another. They might amount, with a few others which appeared ſcattered over the country, to the number of ſeventy, and conſtituted the whole French ſettlement on this part of

of Red River. The village and fort command an extenſive proſpect on the oppoſite ſide of the river; a proſpect preſenting a large meadow bounded on all ſides by the woods, and plentifully ſtocked with cows and horſes.

I lived here with the proprietor of the canoe, but was miſerably accommodated, both in diet and lodging. The houſe was ſmall, and dirty in the extreme; and our bread, made of rice mixed with Indian corn, was of the very worſt quality. In ſpite of all their inconveniences, I would have preferred to my preſent ſituation my former lodging on the banks of Red River, and the bread we fed upon from New Orleans, though it too had been much ſpoiled ſince our quitting the Miſſiſippi. It is difficult for the reader to imagine how much the air on Red River is contaminated by the horrid ſtench which ariſes from the urine and excrements of the aligator. Our biſcuit was ſo impregnated with this abominable effluvia, that it had acquired the nauſeous taſte of rotten muſk; but I ſupported my ſpirits under all thoſe hardſhips with the proſpect

proſpect of making a ſhort ſtay in this country.

The ſettlement of Nachitoches is computed to be a hundred and forty leagues N. W. from New Orleans; is of ſmall extent, but tolerably populous; and the inhabitants, like all thoſe of Louiſiana, are lively, well-formed in their perſons, and inured to fatigue. They often aſcend their rivers with their families to the diſtance of four or five hundred leagues, and ſpend on one of thoſe painful expeditions eighteen, perhaps twenty months.

Hunting the bear is one of their favourite purſuits, but is chiefly practiſed in the winter ſeaſon, when he is particularly fat, and in condition to furniſh them a large quantity of oil. The nature of the chace is briefly as follows: The bear generally chooſes for his retreat the hollow trunk of an old cypreſs, which he climbs, and deſcends into the cavity from above; mean while it is the buſineſs of the hunter, who watches him on his return home, to mount by means of hooks, and ſeat himſelf on a neighbouring tree. Here, having a gun in one hand, and a firebrand

a firebrand in the other, the moment he diſcovers the hole he darts his torch into the trunk. Frantic with rage and terror, the bear makes a ſpring from his den; but the hunter, with great dexterity, ſeizes the inſtant he leaps from the tree, and ſhoots him through the head or ſhoulder. The animal drops on the ground, and dies under the repeated wounds he receives from his enemy.

At Nachitoches I was anxious for intelligence reſpecting the firſt Spaniſh ſettlement; and learned with pleaſure that it is about ſeven leagues diſtant, is the reſidence of the governor of Tegas, and is named Adaés or Adaiſſes.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

My Journey from Nachitoches, by Adaés and Naquadoch—Two excurſions to this laſt place.

HAVING ſpent only three days at this poſt, I prepared to ſet out for Adaés, and with this view hired one of the inhabitants as a guide, who was more diſmal in his aſpect, and brutal in his manners, than any Eſkimaux ſavage of the North. He was likewiſe covered with rags, and in every reſpect gave me a moſt unfavourable idea of the Creoles in general of the ſame nation. I alſo hired from him a horſe to tranſport my baggage, which, for the greater convenience in travelling, I packed up in three bear-ſkins: one of theſe I intended for my bed; another was to ſerve as a covering to an occaſional tent; and the third was meant to defend my neceſſaries from the rain in thoſe uninhabited regions through which I propoſed to proceed.

We

We quitted Nachitoches in the evening, and purſued our journey the whole night. About the middle of our route we were conſiderably fatigued, and having ſtopped for a few minutes, my guide prepared to regale me with an ounce of bad bread made of Indian corn. As the path was little trodden, lay over an uneven ſurface, was much obſcured by the woods, and frequently obſtructed with large trees which the unſparing ravages of time had thrown in our way, we had infinite difficulty to keep from wandering. It often happened, though I led my horſe by the bridle, owing to the crooked path we were obliged to purſue, that we ſtopped ſhort completely bewildered. About three o'clock in the morning, however, we arrived at the hut of a baptized Indian, who took us kindly under his roof.

Our hoſt being apprehenſive my goods might be deemed contraband by the Spaniards, was at pains to conceal them, but reſtored them to me honeſtly afterwards. I went to ſleep in a corner of his houſe, which, by the bye, ſcarcely deſerved that name, for the roof was only ſupported by

by a ſort of paling, the greateſt part of which had fallen to the ground from negligence and length of time. As ſoon as it was morning the family, who had ſlept in a bed cloſe by the ſide of mine, ſaluted me, and began to prepare our breakfaſt. From our fare, however, it was but too plain that this baptized Indian was far from being in good circumſtances; and therefore I gave him his choice of money or linen, in order to buy us proviſions. The latter he thought would be moſt current in their market; but after all he could find no Indian corn till the following day, and even then in very ſmall quantity. I became immoderately hungry, and urged him much to make farther enquiries; but he contented himſelf with aſſuring me that there was not half a buſhel of Indian corn within the bounds of the ſettlement; and here, for the firſt time in my life, I experienced in an extreme degree the deplorable hardſhips of real want. I began to entertain ſuſpicions that this ſad ſcarcity of proviſions was partly at leaſt affected, and very diſmal reflections came acroſs my mind. I deter-

mined to go into the village, and endeavour to find lodging in a family of more induſtry, and in an eaſier ſituation of life; and accordingly, quitting my chriſtian ſavage, I found entertainment in the houſe of a non-commiſſioned officer, who, though I cannot ſay he kept a plentiful table, was always provided in a kind of meal for his family. I ſuffered, however, more than once, the ſevere pinchings of hunger, even in the houſe of my new landlord.

The ſettlement of Adaés conſiſts of about forty miſerable houſes, conſtructed with ſtakes driven into the ground. It is ſituated on the declivity of a hill, the top of which, formed into a ſquare, and incloſed with paliſadoes, ſuch as I ſaw at Nachitoches, ſerved as a kind of fortreſs to the village. Theſe forts or redoubts, in the language of the country are named *preſidio*. The houſes are ſcattered about the weſt ſide of the fort; and a little valley lying in the ſame quarter ſeparates the village from a conſiderable eminence, on which ſtands a church and convent of Franciſcans. A few ſtraggling trees, and a heath overgrown with briars

briars and thickets, and bounded every where by the woods, compoſe the cheerleſs proſpect of the inhabitants.

The ſoil is almoſt intirely deſtitute of water; which unhappy circumſtance, joined to the natural indolence of the people, frequently reduces them to the want of the moſt common neceſſaries of life. The chief means of their ſubſiſtence is Indian corn, which they boil, mixed with quick-lime, whereby the huſk is diſſolved to a kind of powder, and the grain conſiderably ſoftened. Having waſhed and bruiſed it on a chocolate-ſtone, it is formed into a lump of paſte, which they knead between their hands. Of this dough they make a ſort of cake, which is toaſted on a plate of iron laid over the fire. This bread is the native food of the people in New Spain; and indeed, when theſe thin cakes, or rather wafers, named by the Spaniards *tortillas*, are well baked, they are far from being unpleaſant.

The inhabitants of Adaés, conſiſting in a ſpecies of cavalry, live by an appointment of nearly a piaſtre a day; but whether it

be owing to the extraordinary expence they incur by ſending for their cloathing from Mexico, or rather, perhaps, their idle and ſluggiſh diſpoſitions, which oblige them to import even their daily bread from a diſtance, the pay of Spain is ſcarce equal to a bare ſubſiſtence. The intervals of public ſervice are employed in play, of which they are particularly fond; in relating their exploits in battle, the perils and hardſhips they have encountered in wild and inhoſpitable regions; and on horſeback, in viſiting, and taming their cattle. Their bodies are ſtrong and muſcular, though ſadly broken by their ſevere campaigns againſt the ſavages, whom they name, probably in deriſion, *Mecos*, or by the no leſs ruinous conſequences of their youthful debaucheries. They are, in general, obliging, humane, compaſſionate, and brave; eminently diſtinguiſhed in the exerciſe of hoſpitality, they are known to ſhare, under the immediate preſſure of hunger, their laſt morſel of bread with the firſt ſtranger who happens to come under their roof. But, on the other hand, they are extremely

tremely proud; and, probably owing in a great meaſure to neceſſity, little addicted either to truth or honeſty.

That of ſtealing I have obſerved is in common to almoſt all ſavage nations, and ſeems to ariſe from an inſtinctive movement of nature, upon the firſt impulſe of which a man is prompted to gratify his wants, without waiting for the deliberate interference of his reaſon. This principle, beſides, is much ſtrengthened by that community of goods which every individual is ready to exerciſe againſt, as well as in favour of his own intereſt: but this deſcription of mankind have one great advantage over their more civilized brethren, namely, that it is much more eaſy to convince them of their ignorance, and reclaim them from their vices.

The half-ſavage Spaniards of this ſettlement are dreſſed in the moſt fantaſtic manner: a ſort of under-waiſtcoat and breeches without a ſeam, but pieced together with buttons of gold and ſilver, and commonly ornamented with lace, ſtockings made of ſkins, and ſhoes whoſe upper-leathers are

cut into thongs, affording free acceſs to the dirt and duſt as well as to the air, compoſe their ordinary apparel. A large hood and ſhort cloak, adorned round the neck with broad ſtripes of gold lace, ſeems to be conſidered as a full uniform, and is only worn on horſeback. But, in ſpite of all this finery, one often meets the Spaniard without either hat or ſhirt, while his ſumptuous uniform, torn by the briars and thorns of the woods, hangs in a thouſand tatters about his perſon. His heels are uſually armed with a pair of enormous ſpurs about five or ſix inches in length. His armour conſiſts in a helmet of deer-ſkin, a carabine, and a long broad ſword. Two little leathern boxes placed before the ſaddle ſerve to hold proviſions for his march. The carabine reſts commonly in the ſtock, but is uſed as a pillar, during night, for a kind of tent, which is reared occaſionally with the Spaniſh hood, in order to protect him from the rain. His ſaddle-leathers, neatly dreſſed, and ſtamped with various ornamental deſigns, are garniſhed round the edges with trinkets of ſteel, which, like as many little

bells, are kept perpetually ringing by the motion of the horſe. The rider reſts his feet in a couple of ſtirrups at leaſt fifty pounds in weight, which are compoſed of four maſſy bars of iron arranged in the form of a croſs. To keep the horſeman ſteady in his ſeat, and to conſtrain his limbs to that poſition which is deemed moſt graceful among the Spaniards, are the chief purpoſes of thoſe ponderous ſtirrups. Riding in them, however, to a novice, is a pretty ſevere trial of his patience; for, in my ſhort experience of theſe accoutrements, I caught a ſwelling in my legs, and an almoſt entire diſlocation of my joints. If the horſe is ſtrong enough not to be oppreſſed with their weight, I am uncertain, after all, whether they may not contribute to his eaſe, ſince they form a ſort of balance below to the gravity of the rider on his back. The bits of their bridles, which are of an oblong ſhape, and extremely well adapted to their purpoſe, have a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe in uſe among the Arabs, who, as every one knows, excel in the art of horſemanſhip all other nations in

the world. In fine, the half-ſavage Spaniard, with all this ſingular extravagance, is an excellent rider, and when completely equipped and mounted never failed to revive in my mind all the ideas of ancient chivalry.

According to my beſt information relative to the road from hence to Mexico, it is a journey of no leſs than five hundred and fifty leagues; and to the ſecond Spaniſh ſettlement two hundred and fifty, by a way difficult to be found, and acroſs rivers, many of which are extremely dangerous in their paſſage. I was aſſured, that though at times a ſmall party of two or three ſavages will undertake and accompliſh this expedition, yet, with the incumbrance of baggage, it would be deemed highly imprudent to attempt it with fewer than ten or twelve perſons in company. It was, therefore, with great regret I ſaw myſelf precluded from entering on this route, otherwiſe than in a kind of caravan; and here I had the proſpect of remaining until I ſhould be joined by a certain number of companions.

Learning, however, that the governor of this

this province, who had been recalled to Mexico in conſequence of a diſpute between him and his ſucceſſor, had fallen ill at the diſtance of fifty leagues, and was then actually living at the reſidence of a miſſionary, in a place called Naquadoch; I reſolved to join him, and wait till the recovery of his health ſhould enable him to continue his journey. In this view I purchaſed a horſe, and agreed to have my effects tranſported by mules belonging to ſoldiers in the governor's ſuite, who having come hither in ſearch of proviſions, were now about to return. The guide I engaged at this place was a very civil, but at bottom a very roguiſh Mexican: he was ſmooth and obliging in his deportment; but before we parted I had too much reaſon to believe that his own intereſt, in contempt of common honeſty, was the ruling principle of his conduct. As ſoon as we had fairly entered the woods, he took care to loſe my baggage-mule, in order that, under the colour of finding him, he might have time, in my abſence, to ſteal a parcel of

of my linen, which he concealed among the buſhes.

The face of this country is agreeably diverſified with little hilly ridges, which terminate the view over widely-extended plains; whilſt the vallies are interſperſed with meadows, which, probably under water during winter, are covered in the fine ſeaſon with a ſpecies of graſs of a ſurpriſing height. The humid parts of the high grounds abound in timber of different kinds; but the more dry and ſterile produce pines only, though of a wonderful ſize. I was aſtoniſhed to obſerve the vaſt number of thoſe trees which lay proſtrate on the ground, whoſe baſes, in appearance powdered over with ſoot or coal-duſt, conveyed the notion of their roots having been conſumed with fire. The ſame deceaſe was viſible in many which were ſtill on foot; and from every ſymptom it would appear that the pine, becoming black at the root, diſſolves into duſt, whilſt the trunk gradually loſes its balance, and at laſt falls to the ground. I cannot refer this mortality

lity of the firs to putrefcence, fince the foil, climate, as well as the fubftance of the tree, are extremely dry; but am rather of opinion, that fuffering a certain difcharge of the vegetable juices, they actually bleed to death. In our progrefs through this country we frequently met with a fpecies of roe-buck, and a meagre race of wolves, or wild dogs, whofe barking, however, is very different from that of the fame kind of animal in Europe.

Though I am perfuaded I gave every body in my fervice a handfome compenfation for his trouble, confidering the fcarcity of money in thofe parts, yet a kind of idle bafhfulnefs induced me to fhare in all the toil and hardfhips of my fellow travellers. I had been in ufe, fince my departure from New Orleans, to fleep in the open air; but the nights becoming cold, while the days comparatively were extremely hot, I caught a fever at thirty leagues from Adaés, which continued all the way to Naquadoch. At every return of my diforder a giddinefs in my head depriving me almoft intirely of the ufe of my bodily faculties, Providence alone

alone preſerved me twenty times from breaking my neck, by falling from my horſe, or by running againſt the branches of trees which project over the path. On theſe occaſions reflection was the only ſenſe I retained, and I knew we were under the neceſſity of reaching a certain rivulet in the evening, where we were ſure to find water and paſture for our cattle. We arrived at Naquadoch, and after a little repoſe I recovered my health, and was reſtored to my uſual ſtrength and ſpirits. We had already paſſed a miſſion, named *Aiſſes*, and that, with Naquadoch, are the only habitations on this route. There are in their vicinity ſeveral ſavage villages, which are ſeldom long either at peace or war with the Spaniards.

Upon my arrival, the old governor, whom I have mentioned, received me civilly; but there being an extreme ſcarcity of proviſions in the miſſion, as well as among the neighbouring ſavages, and my propoſed journey conſiſting of two hundred leagues, through a very wild and uncultivated country, I found myſelf under the hard neceſſity of

of returning to Adaés, in order to provide for my future ſubſiſtence.

I uſed every means in my power to find a companion, or even a guide, but in vain; and was at laſt obliged to depart alone. I travelled till the fall of night, when, laying myſelf down on my bear-ſkins, with my mule tied to a tree, and grazing by my ſide, I began to muſe on my preſent ſingular ſituation. I was here alone, ſurrounded with darkneſs, in the midſt of woods unknown in their extent, and a prey to the firſt monſter or ſavage of the deſert. Often, during this ſhort journey of fifty leagues, had I reaſon to commit myſelf to the great Author of my being, and in many inſtances to admire the viſible exerciſe of his paternal care. I might now be ſaid to lead the life of a ſavage; for my proviſions, the beſt indeed for the purpoſe of travelling, conſiſted in a piece of fleſh dried in the ſun, and a ſmall quantity of ground Indian corn, named by the Spaniards *pynolé*. This meal, when mixed with water, ſwells to a great bulk, inſomuch that a ſingle handful of it ſuffices amply for one repaſt. The day

day after my departure from Naquadoch I found myſelf all of a ſudden in circumſtances of the moſt imminent danger: I had begun my march before day, and having the misfortune to loſe myſelf in the woods, I wandered into a beaten path, and was led directly to a ſavage village; happily, however, I recognized it through the trees by the round and conical form of their huts; and here, in all probability, I owed my life to Providence, and the obſcurity of the morning; for had the ſavages chanced to be awake, preſuming, under the firſt impulſe of ſurprize, that I came with the evil intention of a ſpy or robber, they would undoubtedly have fired upon me.

A few days afterwards I obſerved a party of ſavages before me, when that involuntary fear of them entertained by Europeans, which I had not been yet able to get intirely rid of, prompted me to ſkulk from the path, with a view to dine, as well as to avoid their company. The moment, however, I alighted from my mule, I was accoſted by a couple of their women, who requeſted I would ſupply them with ſome of my Indian corn.

I very

I very readily ſhared with them what little I had; but the reader may gueſs my ſurprize, when, after ſeveral days, they returned to teſtify their gratitude, by making me a preſent of cakes made of wild fruit. I afterwards fell in with men of the ſame village, from whom I received much kindneſs, who were at great pains to put me in the beſt path, and to inſtruct me as to the places moſt convenient for feeding my mule, as well as for my own accommodation.

At night, having again tied my mule to the ſtump of a tree, where the graſs was particularly fine, I ſtretched myſelf on my bear-ſkins, and went to ſleep. About midnight, however, I awaked, as uſual, in order to change him to new paſture, but, to my great mortification, he was gone. What a diſmal proſpect opened to my mind! I had loſt my mule, was in the midſt of an immenſe foreſt, without proviſions, and without arms either to procure ſubſiſtence, or to defend my life againſt an enemy. I looked with a melancholy heart upon my bear-ſkins and ſaddle, which ſerved me for a bed and pillow; and under the

the terror of loſing myſelf in the woods, almoſt trembled at the thoughts of venturing forth in ſearch of him. Neceſſity, however, at laſt prevailed over my fears; and collecting all my courage and preſence of mind, after conjecturing from the moon's place the direction of the path, I ruſhed into the woods. Luckily I found my mule in the ſpace of half an hour, grazing the ſloping bank of a rivulet, which afforded him good paſture; but by what means he was to be caught I knew not, and this gave me new cauſe of diſquietude. I can ſay truly, that here, as in other trying ſituations, my patience never forſook me; and after various fruitleſs efforts, I at length got hold of him. In this painful interval of ſuſpence, I had embraced the reſolution, rather than return to Naquadoch, to continue my journey on foot, or to addreſs myſelf to the humanity of the ſavages, who are enemies to the Spaniards, and in the courſe of their hoſtilities are uſed to ramble all over thoſe parts. By ſubſequent experience, however, of the great difficulties which occur in this route, I was convinced that this idea

was

was impracticable, since no savage who is an entire stranger in the country is bold enough to attempt it. I at last accomplished my journey; and having bought provisions for my proposed route, again turned my face towards the mission of Naquadoch.

About noon, on the first day of my return, accident or the sagacity of my mule conducted me with more discretion than I could have done myself. Having arrived on the banks of a little river, which, the first time I passed this way, I had crossed at a ford, it was considerably swollen by the late rains; but having been desired to observe whether certain stones on the verge of the river appeared above the water, a sign that it is in a situation to be passed, I thought I saw them, and entered boldly into the channel. Before, however, I was half way towards the other side, my mule, though urged to go on by all the means in my power, refused to obey me, and at last becoming furious, reared and bounced, hurrying me backward to the shore. I gave way to the obstinacy of his nature, but without knowing by what expedient I might ex-

tricate myſelf from my preſent danger. Having no alternative, and reflecting I might poſſibly have miſtaken the paſſage, I led him back to the path, and laying the bridle on his neck, gave him the ſpur, and left him to take his own courſe. I ſoon had reaſon to be ſatisfied with my conduct; for he inſtantly quitted the path in a new direction, and paſſed the river with eaſe and ſafety to us both.

In a little time afterwards I alighted to take ſome refreſhment, and obſerving ſomething at a diſtance which engaged my attention, I tied my mule to a tree, and left him; but I was greatly ſurpriſed on my return to find him rearing and foaming, and to all appearance in a ſtate of frenzy. His rage, however, was not long a matter of wonder; for I found the poor animal cruelly infeſted with a vaſt ſwarm of bees, which darkened the air over his head. I made haſte to cover my face and hands from their violence, and cutting his halter, pulled him after me at full ſpeed. The bees aroſe in amazing multitudes, but being unable to keep pace with us, we ſoon

* eſcaped

eſcaped from their moleſtation. I hoped to reduce the inflammation occaſioned by the ſtings of theſe inſects, by bathing him in the river; but this remedy not anſwering my expectation, I thought that a plentiful perſpiration, produced by hard riding, might have more effect, and I continued my journey to a later hour than uſual.

The governor being much recovered from his late indiſpoſition, had begun to think of reſuming his march; and therefore, with the aſſiſtance of the father miſſionary, I purchaſed a couple of mules for my approaching travels.

Here I met with an inſtance of generoſity in ſavages, which, for the ſake of ſuch Europeans as are apt to ſpeak contemptuouſly of the uncivilized native of America, I ſhall take the liberty to relate. A poor man applied to our little caravan, praying that we might be pleaſed to afford him maintenance and his paſſage to the ſettlement of San Antonio. His petition was deemed highly unreaſonable by the greateſt part of the company, and by all rejected; for although I would readily have contri-

buted to his aſſiſtance, yet it was not convenient to render him this ſervice alone. But I will leave the reader to judge of our aſtoniſhment, when we were afterwards informed that the ſavages in the neighbourhood, getting notice of the poor man's application, not only found him a horſe and proviſions for the journey, but conducted him to the confines of that ſettlement.

I have had frequent opportunities to obſerve moral diſpoſitions in the men we call ſavages, that would do much honour to the moſt civilized European; diſpoſitions whoſe influence on their conduct is only interrupted under the violence of an unruly paſſion; but even in ſuch ſituations, the firſt ſallies of his rage having ſoon ſubſided, that equanimity of which the ſavage affords an eminent example reſumes its aſcendency over his mind. But will it be ſaid, that reaſon, depraved by education and the example of others, ſo often to be met with in civilized nations, or a dark and deſigning policy, which in obedience to ſober judgment contrives, executes, or delays the blackeſt

blackeſt villanies, ever enter into the character or conduct of the ſavage? No: in the ſchool of nature he learned to be generous, compaſſionate, friendly, and grateful; and if occaſionally he falls into great irregularities, ſuch as theft, cruelty, or licentiouſneſs, either he has been corrupted in his acquaintance with Europeans, or he is ſubject to a particular ardency of blood which precipitates him into thoſe exceſſes. In the province of Louiſiana I obſerved with ſincere concern that the French had communicated the impurities of their immoral lives to ſeveral families among this ſimple race of men. At Naquadoch I ſaw a handſome girl, born and educated in the woods, who having had the misfortune to loſe her virtue, abandoned her perſon, I will not ſay to any one without diſtinction, but to ſuch as were inclined to make her a trifling preſent. Evil communication, and frequent intercourſe with foreigners, creating a taſte for luxury and convenience, have ſown the firſt ſeeds of depravity among a people who otherwiſe might have conti-

nued to enjoy the happy innocence of their woods. The ruſtic ſimplicity of the ſavage reſtraining his deſires within a narrow compaſs, and diſcouraging his mixing eaſily in the company of ſtrangers, forms the greateſt ſecurity to the purity and integrity of his manners. A cloſe attention to what paſſes among the other animals, which in the original movements of their nature differ little from our own ſpecies, has greatly confirmed me in the truth of this obſervation. Before I diſmiſs theſe ſhort ſtrictures on the character of the ſavage, I muſt add to the liſt of his unfaſhionable virtues a native love of juſtice and fair dealing; who, as I have often had occaſion to remark, pays his little debts with all the punctuality his good or bad fortune in hunting may permit. Chaſtity, in fine, ſeems equally natural to ſimple and undiſciplined minds with any other virtue. One day I accidentally ſtumbled on a couple who had been lately married as they lay under their bear-ſkins, and ſaw with pleaſure the unaffected diſconcertion of modeſty in the timid

timid Indian beautifully contraſted with manly confidence and ſecurity, untinged with jealouſy or ſhame, on the part of her huſband.

I now return to my departure from the miſſion of Naquadoch; for, as it would be tedious to narrate the many hardſhips which occur to a traveller in thoſe wild and uncultivated regions, it would be equally endleſs to deſcribe the various ſenſations of voluptuous delight which in the progreſs of this journey the perception of ſimple nature, viſible in the aſpect of the ſoil, as well as in the manners of the people, excited in my mind.

CHAP. V.

A Journey from Naquadoch, by the River Guadeloupe, to the Settlement of San Antonio; and my Abode in that Place.

I Was now on the point of commencing my arduous and painful journey; and the agreeable proſpect of continuing my travels had effaced the impreſſions of that extreme fatigue both of body and mind which I had experienced ever ſince I ſet out from New Orleans. We were ſoon in readineſs to depart; and accordingly, on the 2d of November, we quitted the miſſion of Naquadoch: what with ſoldiers and half-ſavages in the retinue of the governor, our company conſiſted in all of fifteen perſons. We had twenty loaded mules, beſides a reſerve of no leſs than two hundred mules and horſes. The excellent order obſerved by thoſe animals, eſpecially in paſſing bad roads, in which ſituation their diſcipline and

and inſtincts were moſt conſpicuous, rendered our little caravan an entertaining object.

Two days from our departure we had the misfortune to be detained in a meadow on the borders of a large rivulet, by reaſon of a great fall of rain, which had rendered the ſoil ſo looſe and ſpongy that our horſes ſunk to their girths in mire. As ſoon as the bottom would permit, we again ſet forward, and paſſed ſeveral ſavage villages, called *Tegas de San Pedro*. This nation appears to be more populous than any I have hitherto met with; and in many reſpects different from the tribes of the Miſſiſippi and Red River. The latter, for inſtance, ſeldom undertake an expedition but by water; whereas the Tegas, the ſavages of Aiſſes, Adaés, and Naquadoch, living in huts far from navigable rivers, have applied themſelves to the rearing of horſes for the purpoſes of conveyance. Here the ſavages cultivate Indian corn in greater quantity, are leſs addicted to the chace, and derive, during winter, a conſiderable part of their ſubſiſtence from different

ferent kinds of wild fruit, which they gather in the woods, and make into cakes. Bleſſed with the advantages of a warmer climate and more grateful ſoil, they receive from the unſolicited bounty of nature a great proportion of their nouriſhment; and hence it probably happens that they are leſs accuſtomed to animal food than the natives of more northern regions.

Here we found that by a late edict of the new governor, the French of Naquadoch had been forbidden to interfere in the traffic of the natives, which, added to the habitually cold and diſobliging conduct of the Spaniards, had prepared the ſavages for hoſtilities; and we therefore thought it expedient to make our ſtay ſhort, and to have as little communication with them as poſſible. Such of them, however, as had lived on good terms with the late governor, choſe to compliment him on his arrival; but they were received and diſmiſſed according to every rule of decency and diſcretion. Next day we were joined by a party of them on horſeback, who were eager to diſplay with much oſtentation the

ſwiftneſs

ſwiftneſs and agility of their horſes, as well as their own ſkill and dexterity in the art of riding; and it is but doing them juſtice to ſay, that the moſt noble and graceful object I have ever ſeen was one of thoſe ſavages mounted and running at full ſpeed. The broad Herculean trunk of his body, his gun leaning over the left arm, and his plaid or blanket thrown careleſsly acroſs his naked ſhoulders, and ſtreaming in the wind, was ſuch an appearance as I could only compare to ſome of the fineſt equeſtrian ſtatues of antiquity. The more elderly among them, of a leſs violent and impetuous character, rode quietly in our company, with their wives or daughters behind them. The women behaved in our preſence with the greateſt decency, and ſtudied to avoid our too inquiſitive regards by ſitting cloſer to their conductors. It was their intention, I preſume, in this manner to pay their reſpects to their former governor; but I could gueſs, by the ſhortneſs of their viſits, that they were by no means flattered with our attention to their women.

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In eight days more we arrived at Trinity River, which, though it runs with a ſtrong current, and is at leaſt two gun-ſhots in breadth, we were able to ford with little inconvenience. We uſed the precaution, however, to paſs in two columns, having our beaſts of burthen in the middle, and a diviſion of our horſemen on each ſide; that while *this* broke the force of the current, *that* might ſuſtain the weak in the centre, and enabled them to reſiſt the preſſure of the water. When the caravan was about to deſcend into the bed of the river, it was curious to obſerve with what good ſenſe the mules let themſelves ſlide down on their hinder legs, and by this means preſerved their balance, and conſulted the ſafety of their burthen. We continued our route almoſt due weſt, and our ſavages being well acquainted with the ſituation of the country, paid little regard to any beaten path, and yet we were conſtantly conducted by the ſhorteſt courſe to the preciſe ſpot we wiſhed to arrive at.

We paſſed the firſt branch of a river named *Bras*; but finding the ſecond im-

practicable in the ſame manner, we halted at a part of its courſe, where the current ſhoots from one angular point, to another on the oppoſite ſhore. And here we proceeded to the woods, each armed with his ax, and cutting down ſuch large trees as were deemed moſt ſuitable to our purpoſe, we rolled them into the river. Of theſe we conſtructed a kind of raft, tied together with the halters of our horſes, and named by the Spaniards *balſas*. It was the buſineſs of two experienced ſwimmers who went before, each with a rope in his teeth, to regulate the motion of the raft, while one on each ſide aſſiſted its progreſs, and prevented it from overſetting in the river. Our baggage having been in this manner tranſported, or rather ſhot acroſs the ſtream, and our horſes and mules led down to the edge of the water, a bold and powerful ſwimmer plunged into the river, accompanied by a ſavage on horſeback, who, calling to the animals in a language of their own, the whole troop inſtantly followed him. Meanwhile we, who ſtood on the oppoſite bank, were at much pains, by ſhouting

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ing and clamour, to attract their notice, and to entice them to that particular spot which was found most convenient for their landing.

It is difficult to imagine the fatigues and hardships we experienced in passing the larger rivulets of this country. In order to approach them, as their deep channels are generally situated between borders of morasses, we were frequently under the necessity of either covering the quagmire with different strata of earth and faggot, or of opening ourselves a passage with the spade. Our baggage, which for the sake of a dry situation had been left considerably behind us, was then to be brought from a distance; and in short, the same operation being equally indispensable on the other side of the rivulet, I have seen us spend several days in extricating ourselves from the embarrassment of one miserable little brook. I find it extremely difficult to determine which is the most painful and laborous undertaking, to combat the strong currents of the Mississippi, and the falls of Red River; or to pursue a route lying across

acroſs large rivers incumbered with rocks, ſometimes ſhallow and ſometimes of great depth; or to travel over a deep fenny ſoil, cut and ploughed up with numberleſs miry rivulets. But the ſtrong features of man's natural liberty and independance embelliſhed in my eye the horrid aſpect of the ſoil; and the gratification I derived from the rural ſcenes through which we were conſtantly paſſing, was the chief but very ſatisfactory reward of all my toils. I will not pretend to deſcribe the impreſſions I received in thoſe ſituations, for nothing leſs than experience can make my reader underſtand the various pleaſing emotions which ſimple and unperverted nature is formed to create in the mind.

In the province of Tegus, and chiefly on the borders of its rivers, grow noble foreſts of oaks and cypreſſes. The eye of the traveller, paſſing into their vacuities, diſcovers in certain trees, wholly or in part fallen to decay, the large but now ruinous productions of a vigorous ſoil. The bald and muſty tops of others, ſhew they are kept on foot only by the embraces of the liane,

liane, a plant which here length of time has almoſt equalled in ſize to what was anciently its ſupport. The ſeed of aged branches depoſited in the cavities of their decayed trunks, and meeting with a fat compoſt of rotten leaves and twigs, ſpring luxuriant from their ſides, affording the agreeable proſpect of a numerous race from the wreck and aſhes of the paternal tree. On the confines of an adjacent meadow, nature, as if deſirous to defend certain hoary favourites from the ravages of time and the injuries of the weather, had ſpun them a grey moſſy mantle, which deſcends from the ſummit of their talleſt branches to the ſurface of the ground.

If our proſpects were but narrow in the woods, they were proportionally of ample extent in the plains, and ſuggeſted the unreſtrained freedom of their inhabitants. Here the hent-deer grazes in ſuch numbers, that I miſtook them at a diſtance for a company of our horſes broken looſe from their keepers. In the abſence of the little tyrant man a ſenſe of ſecurity ſeems to actuate all the different races of animals; a

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fact viſible in the familiarity with which plover and other of the feathered tribes came to perch on the backs of our mules. Here, perceiving by the ſmoke which aroſe from among the trees that we were in the vicinity of ſavage habitations, we began to purſue our march with more circumſpection.

The Spaniards, who conduct themſelves towards the natives upon principles of ſeverity, very different from the gentle policy of the French, have obliged thoſe ſavages to retire further towards the north; a treatment which has rendered them extremely inimical to the Spaniſh intereſt in thoſe parts.

During the ſhort intervals of our repoſe, the country ever ſince we quitted Red River afforded us excellent ſport of roebuck and wild turkies; and in the courſe of our march we ſhot ſeveral bears, whoſe fleſh we found good and palatable.

We met with a ſmall cheſtnut, and a ſpecies of nut which I was entirely unacquainted with: in the external coat it bears a reſemblance to the nutmeg, but

the kernel is equal in ſweetneſs to any I ever taſted in Europe. I ſaw many plants of the vine in its natural and uncultivated ſtate; but the fruit in greateſt plenty is the common cheſtnut, and a kind of wild medlar. We took care to lay in a large proviſion of onions, in which this country moſt particularly abounds.

We began to obſerve the traces of horned cattle, which were originally tame, but have long ſince become wild, and now roam in large herds all over the plains. The flour of the Indian corn, made according to the practice of the country into a kind of gruel, as well as the entire grain roaſted or boiled, I had always found a very dry and inſipid diet; but now a morſel of fleſh taken from one of theſe animals afforded me a moſt delicious and ſucculent repaſt.

Hunting the wild bull, ſo cuſtomary in this country, begins with a ſort of feſtivity, and ends in an entertainment, in which one of their carcaſes ſupplies the only ingredients. As ſoon as a herd of cattle was ſeen on the plain, the moſt fleet and active

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of our cavalry prepared to attack them; and deſcending in the form of a creſcent, hunted them in all directions. By-and-by, becoming jaded with fatigue, they were ready to ſink under the whip, but the hunters ſtill urging them to flight by their loud cries, drove them at laſt, mingled with the horſes, from the field. Such of the animals as were unable to follow were ſlaughtered on the ſpot; when their purſuers, having ſupplied themſelves with what quantity of their fleſh was deemed ſufficient, abandoned the reſt to the wolves.

But though I preferred animal food to Indian corn, I derived little more benefit from the one than from the other; for my ſtomach having been weakened and fatigued by a long courſe of ſtrange diet, was no longer in condition to digeſt either. I had been accuſtomed to eat them ſeparately, reſerving the Indian corn for my ſubſiſtence when it might not be in my power to have any other; perhaps, however, I might have done better had I uſed them together; but I had already ſuffered ſo cruelly from hunger, that my concern, for futurity often pre-

vented me from yielding to the demands of preſent appetite. I experienced the truth of what is uſually ſaid of hunters who live entirely on animal food, but which I uſed to find it difficult to believe, namely, that beſides their deriving little nouriſhment from the leaner part, it ſoon becomes offenſive to the taſte, whereas the fat is both more nutritious, and continues to be agreeable to the palate.

We croſſed Red River or Colorado, which in breadth and current is much more conſiderable than either of the other two of the ſame name. We were now in a country excellently ſupplied with beef and veniſon, which were therefore the chief articles of our ſubſiſtence. This country, perhaps one of the moſt beautiful in the world, conſiſts in wide plains interſected with rivers and rivulets, on whoſe banks grow tufts of wood, containing various aromatic plants little known in Europe. We arrived at a deep brook, very properly named *Quitto Calçones*, and in French, *Quitte tes Culottes*, which we paſſed on rafts. But whilſt we were engaged in this

this operation there appeared a ſmall party of Indians. It was now dark, and our company being ſeparated by the muddy bed of the rivulet, were prevented from uniting for the common defence. The ſavages proceeded directly towards our horſes, which were feeding in the meadow, confident that in our preſent circumſtances they ſhould have it in their power to drive them quietly off the field. They had been obſerved, however, by a party of our men, who, aware of their intention, ran inſtantly to oppoſe them; and here our vigilance meeting with their want of numbers, diſappointed them of their booty.

We arrived at the river Guadeloupe, the laſt of any conſequence on the road to San Antonio; and here the ſame tedious and irkſome method of paſſing on rafts was repeated. In four days more we came to plantations of Indian corn, from the appearance of which I could eaſily perceive that the inhabitants of this ſettlement are not ſo miſerably idle as thoſe of Adaés. The crops are large and beautiful, and interſperſed with meadow ground, upon which

are reared herds and flocks of almoſt every denomination. We begin to obſerve the Barbary fig-tree and wild burnet; and I was ſhewn a root reſembling the turnip, a thin ſlice of which purges ſeverely, but I was told its operation is counteracted by ſwallowing a ſmall quantity of ground Indian corn. Our animals, as well as ourſelves, were now greatly fatigued, and therefore it was thought expedient to make a ſhort reſt. I bought a third mule, and we found ourſelves under the neceſſity of appointing a guard to our mules and horſes.

The reader is poſſibly ſurpriſed to find us attended by ſo numerous a train of animals; but if he only conſiders the difficulties of our march, the wild and rugged ſurface of the country, and the occaſion we had for a freſh ſupply of horſes each day, he will eaſily perceive the propriety of our conduct. In ſhort, on the laſt day of November, we arrived in ſafety at the ſettlement of San Antonio.

At this poſt, the ſecond in the ſame direction belonging to the Spaniards, I met with the new governor of the province, whom

whom I had juſt ſeen at Adaés. I found he had taken a northern road, on which, though the rivers are practicable on horſe-back, are yet never to be attempted with the incumbrance of loaded mules. In the countries bordering on thoſe rivers reſide the ſavage tribes named Tegas and Apaches, the laſt of which entertain an implacable enmity againſt the Spaniards. The Apaches, after driving them from a ſettlement in thoſe parts, called *San Xævier*, were repelled in their turn, and obliged to ſeek habitations in more northern regions. Although the population of ſavage nations is not expected to be very conſiderable, yet from the province of Louiſiana to San Pedro we paſſed their villages at intervals of twenty-five and thirty leagues, and ſometimes at a ſhorter diſtance. But that vaſt country ſituated on this ſide of the San Pedro villages, and which ſtretches all the way to Rio Grande, is totally deſtitute of inhabitants. It is true, thoſe regions are ſtill frequented by ſavages; but they have no other object in view than to make war upon the Spaniards, to drive off their

cattle, to hunt the buffalo, and to gather *plaquemines* and cheſtnuts, with which they retire to their villages in the north. Owing to their very frequent incurſions, however, they have been improperly repreſented as wandering tribes.

Whilſt I remained at this ſettlement, the ſavages through whoſe boundaries we had paſſed at San Pedro, incenſed againſt the governor on account of his prohibition of their trade with the French of Naquadoch, made an irruption into the country, and carried off four hundred horſes from San Antonio. The alarm being given, the garriſon beat to arms, and mounting their horſes, purſued to the diſtance of a hundred leagues, without being able to come up with the enemy. The Spaniards were on their return home, and had reached the river Guadeloupe, when another party of the ſame nation ruſhed from the woods, and made a ſmart fire upon them. The garriſon, after making a vigorous reſiſtance for the ſpace of three hours, at laſt yielded to ſuperior numbers, and loſt on this occaſion, beſides other property, a hundred and

fifty horſes. A few days after the garriſon was inſulted again by a detachment of the ſame tribe; and the governor began to ſee the neceſſity of putting the fort in a better ſtate of defence. I offered my ſervices to the garriſon, and we prepared to maintain our poſt with courage and reſolution; but the whole affair ended at laſt in a pitiful little ſkirmiſh.

The manner of fighting practiſed by the ſavages, gave me no mean idea of their military talents. I remarked, that when they firſt meant to attack us at Quitto Calçones, they acted on the preſumption that our force being divided by a difficult rivulet, might probably yield them an inconteſted victory; and indeed I have no doubt that had they been either a little more alert in their conduct, or powerful in men, they muſt have ſucceeded in their deſign. Their action with the Spaniards, as I was told, at the paſſage of the Guadeloupe, happened in ſimilar circumſtances, and was conducted on their part with the ſame policy. It is uſual, it ſeems, with the Spaniards when on their march to croſs rivers

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in two diviſions, one eſcorting the governor, and the other covering the rear. Now the moment the governor and his detachment entered the river the enemy, who lay in ambuſh near the path, roſe and attacked them. The inſtant they diſcharged their pieces, they ran down into the plain, and were covered by their cavalry, who upon receiving a ſignal ſprung from their thickets, and advanced at full ſpeed to fall upon the Spaniards. In this manner the engagement was maintained for ſome time, the foot marching up to a certain diſtance, in order to fire upon the enemy, while the horſemen in their turn, proceeding to the charge, covered the infantry in their retreat, and gave them time to re-load their pieces. The Spaniards inferiority in numbers, and too great eagerneſs to give aſſiſtance to their friends, inducing them to weaken the rear, the ſavages profited of their confuſion, and throwing themſelves between the main body and the baggage, remained maſters of the field, and a great number of horſes.

The precaution employed by the ſavages

vages to prevent their being taken in flight, ſeems in a particular manner to merit notice. In contemplation of flight they ſtrip themſelves naked, and anointing their bodies with oil, frequently elude the hands of their purſuers; a practice exactly ſimilar to that which was in uſe among the wreſtlers of antiquity. Upon the whole, however, I do not conſider ſavage nations as ſteady or greatly to be depended upon in the practice of war. Like all other raw militia, the vivacity of their firſt attack ſoon evaporates, and they muſt in general give way to the more obſtinate and perſevering bravery of European regulars. But after all I was far from being diſſatisfied that they declined the ſiege of Fort San Antonio, being convinced in my own mind that we were not in a condition to hold out againſt a firſt vigorous aſſault.

Fort San Antonio ſtands in a valley of an oblong form, one ſide of which fronts an angle of a ſmall river in its vicinity. The different avenues leading to the ſettlement are defended by large palliſadoes, while the houſes

houſes built upon its circumference ſerve the purpoſe of walls: but being of very conſiderable extent, and as many of the houſes are in ruins, it is but weakly fortified, and has much occaſion for a ſtronger garriſon. It is beſides much incumbered from without by ſeveral miſerable villages, which give encouragement to the incurſions of the enemy. The ſpace too incloſed by the angle of the river is crouded by a multitude of huts, which are occupied by a number of emigrants from the Canary Iſles. In other reſpects the ſettlement is pleaſantly ſituated, on a ſmall peninſula ſloping gently towards the river; and commands an agreeable proſpect over the oppoſite grounds. The object of my greateſt ſurprize in this part of the world is the immenſe ſwarms of cranes which frequent the borders of the rivers. The houſes of the ſettlement may perhaps amount to two hundred, two thirds of which are built of ſtone. Upon the roof is a kind of earthen terrace, which, on account of the ſmall quantity of rain, and the temperate nature of the climate, are found abundantly laſting;

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and indeed, ſince my leaving New Orleans, I did not experience twenty days in all of rainy weather. I am told, however, that the climate of Red River, Nachitoches, and Adaés, are wet, cold, and unwholeſome *; but the rains of Nachitoches and Adaés never extend ſo far as this ſettlement, which ſtands in the middle of a plain, and is only ſurrounded by thick woods of the meſquitte. If we except a few clumps of large trees which are found on the banks of the Guadeloupe, the noble foreſts of maſſy timber on this route totally diſappear in the neighbourhood of Red River or Colorado.

This military ſtation is the moſt important of four, comprehended within the bounds of this province: to wit, Adaés, at ſeven leagues diſtance from Nachitoches; Acoquiſſas, a hundred leagues ſouth-weſt from Adaés; Labadie de Spiritu Sancto, two hundred to the weſt-ſouth-weſt; and Fort San Antonio, two hundred and fifty leagues weſt and weſt-ſouth-weſt from the

* This is probably owing to the high woods and marſhy grounds in the vicinity of thoſe places.

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ſame point of Adaés: weſt and a quarter north-weſt from San Antonio, there is alſo the ſtation of San Saba. On the banks of that river, and at the diſtance of a hundred leagues from San Antonio, ſtands the poſt of Rio Grande; and nearly in the ſame direction, at the diſtance of two hundred and fifty leagues from the ſame point, are *Paſſe de Nord* and Santa Fé, in the province of New Mexico. It appears from this detail, that geographers lay down New Mexico on the map much further towards the north than it actually is; and though the circuitous path neceſſarily deſcribed by travellers in traverſing uninhabited countries muſt frequently deceive them as to diſtance, yet I am convinced that the moſt northerly of the Spaniſh ſettlements in thoſe regions lies between the 33d and 34th degree of latitude. The province of Cuvilla is at leaſt fifty leagues more to the ſouth than it is repreſented on the map; whilſt that of Sonora, which borders on California, lies ſouth-weſt of Cuvilla. It is true, the Spaniards had formerly poſſeſſions further northward; but the turbu-

lent temper and frequent inroads of the ſavages at length compelled them to give them up; and it was not without great difficulty they were able to maintain their ground at *San Saba*, *Santa Fé*, and *Paſſe de Nord*; inſomuch that the firſt of theſe was once ordered by the Spaniards to be evacuated and demoliſhed. The roads leading from *Nueva Sonora* to the mines of *Serro Prietto*, being rendered almoſt impaſſable by the ſavages, I ſaw a very conſiderable force called out in order to clear them of the moleſtation of the northern tribes. But how are we to reconcile thoſe facts with the number of Spaniſh poſts we find on the map to the northward of the ſettlements above mentioned? The fact ſeems to be, according to the beſt information I have been able to obtain from ſenſible Indians, who have travelled over the northern extremities of this kingdom, that they only exiſt in the imagination of certain geographers. In this opinion I do not commit my credit with the public on my own conjectures, but on the information of men employed

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to carry the different articles of cloathing to the Spaniards in their moſt northern ſettlements; as well as on the veracity of ſeveral engineers in the ſuite of the governor, who came from Nouvelle-Sonora, and who had been inſtructed to take plans of all the poſts ſituated within the boundaries of the northern ſavages.

In the ſettlement of San Antonio we find a Spaniſh colony from the Canary Iſles; whilſt all their other ſtations conſiſt merely of ſoldiers, and a few Indians who have been ſeduced from the innocence of ſavage life. Their principal employment is to rear horſes, mules, cows, and ſheep. Their cattle, commonly allowed to roam at large in the woods, are once in two months driven into fields adjoining to the houſes of their owners, where every means is uſed to render them tame and tractable. After having been ſubjected to hunger and confinement, they receive their liberty, and are ſucceeded by others, which experience in their turn a ſimilar courſe of diſcipline. Such of the inhabitants as are at pains to

prevent

prevent their herds from running entirely wild, are found to poſſeſs five or ſix thouſand head of cattle.

The inhabitants of San Antonio are excellent horſemen, and particularly fond of hunting or *lacing* their wild animals. Having entered the field, and ſtarted an animal they mean to take alive, they give him chace at full ſpeed from wood to valley, till his fatigue enables them to come within a certain diſtance of him. Here the hunter, holding the running nooſe of a ſtrong laſh or thong coiled round his arm in his right hand, throws it with ſuch dexterity, that he ſeldom fails to catch him round the neck or horns; and in the ſame inſtant, by pulling up his horſe, or turning him abruptly from the line of his career, he checks his prey, and obliges him to ſtand ſtill. A cuſtom very ſimilar to this is deſcribed in Anſon's Voyages, and repreſented by the author as peculiar to the coaſt of Patagonia.

They have likewiſe the uſe of tame animals, which, beſides being ſerviceable to them in milk, ſupply them with fat and

dried fleſh for their extenſive peregrinations. Their horſes and mules are no ſooner a little broken in, than they are offered to ſale; but here the market price is ſo extremely low, as indeed may be imagined, that I have ſeen a good horſe ſold for a pair of ſhoes. Having only one or two keepers for all the cattle of the ſettlement, even their domeſtic animals run day and night in the woods.

The keen eye which the habit of cloſe and minute attention has beſtowed on thoſe people is truly ſurpriſing. Diſcovering in the morning that one of their cattle has diſappeared in the courſe of the night, they are at much pains to examine the inclination of the graſs over which he muſt have paſſed, when they can diſtinguiſh by the prints of his feet whether he is a horſe or mule, and whether he quitted his paſture grazing or in flight: nor do they deſpair of finding him before they have gone fifteen perhaps twenty leagues from home. In their wars with the ſavages this extreme nicety of ſight is ſtill of greater conſequence; but as each party are on their guard

guard againſt the diſcernment of the other, and both have the ſame motives to conceal the direction of their flight, it is uſual to ſet fire to the ſward as they retreat, leaving three or four leagues of black deſert behind them.

They are often in danger of loſing their way in the meadows, but in order to ſecure themſelves againſt this inconvenience they are accuſtomed to give much attention to particular trees, and the poſition of the adjacent woods, which ſerve to aſſiſt their recollection, and anſwer the purpoſe of conducting-poſts in civilized countries. In their excurſions through the woods they diſcover the quarter of the north by obſerving the ſide of the tree which, being hidden from the ſolar rays, acquires a coat of greeniſh moſs, whilſt that expoſed to the ſouth retains a neat clean ſkin of a whitiſh colour. In the neighbourhood of this ſettlement, and ſituated on the river, at the diſtance of two or three leagues from one another, are four miſſions, conſiſting of a couple of Franciſcans each. In the houſes of thoſe miſſionaries ſavages who

have been captivated in war, and on whom the reverend fathers have conferred marriage and baptiſm, receive their maintenance and education. In this manner each houſe entertains ſeven or eight men, with their wives and children, who are employed, under the direction of theſe monks, in certain articles of induſtry, the profits of which are applied to the emolument of the miſſion. The rules of thoſe miſſions, as to temporal affairs, are nearly the ſame with thoſe obſerved by the jeſuits in their ſettlements of Paraguay; but they are applied by the diſciples of St. Ignatius in a manner much more liberal and conciliating to the minds of their ſavage proſelytes, than they are here by the followers of St. Francis.

The ſavages of Tegas are the laſt who have taken to the uſe of the firelock, and maintain any intercourſe with the French. Thoſe of Apaches, living about fifty leagues northward from San Antonio, as well as all the maritime tribes between the ſtations of Acoquiſſas and Labadie de Spiritu Sancto, ſtill uſe the bow and arrow. Certain

tain Europeans have repreſented the latter, named *Coumaches*, as a race of cannibals; but according to the Spaniards, who are probably better acquainted with their manners, they are merely a cruel daſtardly kind of ſavages, who only eſcape the yoke of ſlavery by taking refuge among the rocks, bays, and faſtneſſes of the ſea-coaſt.

The Spaniards make war upon thoſe miſerable tribes, which ſtill retain the bow and arrow, almoſt with impunity. In caſe of an engagement, the Spaniards, covering their heads with a ſort of ſhield, and their bodies with a great coat, conſiſting of three or four folds of deer-ſkin, quilted with cotton, are in condition to ſet the darts of the enemy at defiance. If the ſavages happen to be few in number, and the Spaniſh cavalry think themſelves enſured of an eaſy victory, reſerving their fire for ſituations of greater neceſſity, they uſe the thong, and lace them like wild horſes. As ſoon as a ſavage has been caught in the nooſe, he is bound hand and foot, and carried to the reſidence of a miſſionary, who makes it his buſineſs, by

threats, perſuaſion, ſevere faſting, gentleneſs, and laſt of all by marriage, to tame and civilize the manners of his priſoner. Having been inſtructed in the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, providence, and the more peculiar doctrines of Chriſtianity, he is admitted to the privilege of baptiſm.

The violent prejudices of the Spaniards not only reſtraining them from all intercourſe with the more warlike tribes, but having engaged them in a ſyſtem of policy moſt vexatious to thoſe nations, their patience was at laſt exhauſted, and they abandoned a vaſt tract of uninhabited country to the north of New Spain. Whether this immenſe territory could have been obtained by open and avowed war is doubtful; at leaſt it muſt have been purchaſed by the Spaniards at a very great expence, both of blood and treaſure.

At San Antonio I lived in the family of an excellent Indian, for whom, by reaſon of his faithful, diſintereſted, and patient ſervices in the courſe of my travels from Adaés, I contracted a moſt ſincere friendſhip. Having now made a conſiderable

able acquaintance among the natives, I had the ſatisfaction to find that my plain and ſimple manners were univerſally popular. The good people, I could obſerve, were in hopes that I might be diſpoſed to ſettle in this country, for my inclinations were often founded on this ſubject. The quantity of my baggage, which, though far from being very conſiderable, would have been a kind of fortune to a man of their condition, probably ſuggeſted the notion that I was extremely rich. But I am convinced, that my naïve, decent, and temperate behaviour, recommended me above every other conſideration to their eſteem, and might have inclined them to approve of my falling in love with one of their daughters; and I will add, in juſt praiſe of Indian beauty, that the perſons and diſpoſitions of individuals among them gave them every right to expect it. Beſides, as we all ate and ſlept in the ſame apartment, no man could have fairer opportunities than myſelf of obſerving the ſhapes, or of obtaining the affections and conſent of his miſtreſs. But however much impreſſed with the ex-

cellence of thoſe pure and gentle manners which are the reſult of freedom, a decent mediocrity of fortune, and the advantages of a pious education; and however ſenſible I might be to the charms of their women, the amiable qualities of their minds, and the beauty and fertility of the ſurrounding country, the ſtrong partialities I ſtill retained for my native ſoil, were not to be ſubdued.

In proſpect of my approaching journey I purchaſed a horſe and three mules, with a conſiderable ſtock of proviſions; for I trembled at the thoughts of being again expoſed to the preſſure of hunger, the agony of which I will candidly own I had lately experienced in ſo exceſſive a degree, as to abſorb every other idea and ſentiment in my mind, and indeed ſo as almoſt to efface the firſt and ſtrongeſt principles of my early education.

At San Antonio, as at Adaés, money having little circulation, I choſe to employ a part of my linen, which bears a higher and more convenient value with the Indians, for the payment of my debts; beſides, I wiſhed

wiſhed to be ſparing of what money was in my poſſeſſion, knowing that the time was at no great diſtance when that article would reſume its uſual conſequence. My linen, however, had been conſiderably diminiſhed by the theft of a Creole native of Sartille, who ſtole from me a dozen of ſhirts, and ſome other neceſſaries; but at the ſame time I acknowledge that I received from an inhabitant of San Antonio a bill of exchange upon Mexico, of twenty piaſtres, as compenſation for his friend's diſhoneſty. I have mentioned the place of this Creole's nativity, becauſe in the little misfortunes of my life I have always obſerved that the malice of man is in direct proportion to his birth, education, and conſequence in the world; innocent and ingenuous manners diminiſhing progreſſively from the native of the woods to the villager, Indian, Creole, and Spaniard; the laſt of whom is the leaſt friendly and ſociable of the whole. From the ſavage, or half-ſavage Indian, I never received injury or injuſtice of any kind; and therefore, in my peregrinations through their hamlets, I always choſe to live with the

the Indian in preference to the Spaniard; a preference which, while it adminiſtered to my preſent ſatisfaction, by means of the intercourſe I enjoyed with men unperverted by art and refinement, was likewiſe more agreeable to all my views as a traveller.

CHAP. VI.

A Journey from San Antonio, by Rheda, acroſs Rio Bravo, to the City of Sartille; and my Abode in that Place.

HAVING made the neceſſary preparations for our departure, we began our journey on the 17th of December; but we had ſcarce proceeded to the diſtance of five leagues when we were adviſed by a monk to be on our guard againſt a party of warlike ſavages who infeſted the roads, and from whom he himſelf had juſt made a very narrow eſcape. Our convoy having quitted

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us at San Antonio, we found that in caſe we ſhould have the misfortune to be attacked, we were entirely without the means of defence; and therefore it was deemed moſt prudent to paſs ſome time at the houſe of this miſſionary. We ſent out ſcouts to reconnoitre the woods, who returned to us next day; when, learning that the ſavages had diſappeared in thoſe parts, we reſumed our march, carefully avoiding, however, the beaten paths, leſt we ſhould fall in with them by ſurprize. We traverſed large tracts of a ſhort ſpecies of the meſquitte, the only reſemblance of woods we had met with ſince we paſſed San Antonio. Theſe were ſucceeded by a number of little hills abounding in ſprings, by which the ſubjacent grounds are rendered almoſt impaſſable. Following the direction of their ſtreams, we were conducted to a ſmall river; but, on account of rocks, cavities in its channel, and rapidity of current, extremely difficult of paſſage. Hence an extenſive ſcene of meadows and rivulets, ſkirted with the meſquitte, ſtretches to Rio Trio, a river which

which we paſſed without any inconvenience.

We met with ſeveral lakes abounding in fiſh and wild fowl, and arrived at *Rio de les Nuices*, which we found almoſt deſtitute of water, but whoſe channel, containing a deep mud, was extremely embarraſſing to our march. By means, however, of different ſtrata of earth and faggot, after much trouble and fatigue we accompliſhed our paſſage. Here a large extent of beautiful meadow introduced us to an open champaign country; and after a journey of ten days we came to Rheda, which is a ſmall village conſiſting of about a dozen houſes. Rheda is fourſcore leagues diſtant from San Antonio, and ſtands upon a river called Rio Grande, or, as it is upon the maps, Rio Bravo. Next to the Miſſiſippi this is the moſt conſiderable river in thoſe regions, and indeed bears ſome reſemblance to it both in ſize and ſtrength of current.

From Rio Grande, which we croſſed in a ferry-boat, the country becomes much more populous. We began to obſerve the

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tops of high mountains, which, as I had not met with one conſiderable hill ſince the firſt day of my travels, had ſomewhat the air of novelty. The country, in ſome places, is well cultivated, and preſents the traveller with extenſive fields of Indian corn. The atmoſphere ſwarms with numberleſs cranes; and our journey lying acroſs a beautiful as well as plentiful country, compared with the former part of it, becomes extremely pleaſant. We paſſed the rapid currents of Salt River, which, a little higher, takes the name of *Sabinas*. Here we caught a violent flux, owing to the mineral waters of the country, which are ſo powerful in their operation that even our animals were tormented with the ſame diſorder. We paſſed ſeveral hot ſprings, which are remarkably ſalt and bitter to the taſte, and yet ſuch was the water we were obliged to make uſe of over the whole of this dry and inhoſpitable diſtrict. The low grounds abound in woods of the meſquitte, or prickly currant, under which is a neat clean ſoil; whilſt the heights are covered with thorny ſhrubs of a puny growth, of which there

are various ſpecies curiouſly diverſified in the ſhape and ſize of the prickle. In one it reſembles a dart; in another a ſaw; in a third a harpoon; and all of them have the point of the niceſt needle. They enter the fleſh upon the ſlighteſt contact; but are only extracted by tearing the ſkin, which gives occaſion to the moſt acute pain. This is one of thoſe cruel taxes which Nature has thought proper to impoſe on the patient curioſity of the traveller.

Another inconvenience which awaits him in this country is the abominable ſmell of an animal without the agility but nearly of the ſame ſize with a rabbit. This creature, when hard preſſed, and finding himſelf in jeopardy of being taken, emits a moſt intolerable ſtench, which threatens ſuffocation to his purſuers, and is only eluded by a precipitate flight. I ſaw in the plains of Tegas an animal about the ſize of a large cat, and reſembling that ſpecies in his mouth, noſe, and ears. He had a ſhort reddiſh fur, his body and paws thick and ſhort, with the face of a rabbit. One of them we were lucky enough to kill, which was roaſted, and

and afforded us an excellent repaſt. His fleſh is fair, pleaſant to the taſte, and interlarded with fat in the manner of pork. The name of this animal in the Indian language is Taccouage. I heard much of the rattle-ſnake, but never ſaw one in the whole courſe of my travels through this country.

At a ſhort diſtance on the left appear the mines of Sierra and Luiguana, ſurrounded by a croud of hamlets. We paſſed a number of ſcattered villages belonging to the Indians of *Punta Sant Yago*, and *Caldera*, and came in view of a detached mountain to the weſtward, which is named, from its ſhape, the Table of Caldera. This mountain riſes on all ſides in the form of a ſugar-loaf, in ſuch a manner as to be inacceſſible even to the goat, except by one path, which is likewiſe extremely difficult. The top, however, ſtretches into a fruitful plain, which being well ſupplied in rich ſprings of fine water, affords excellent paſture to numerous herds of cattle. A houſe built acroſs the upper-end of the path prevents their eſcape, and confines them within

in the bounds of this ſingular park or terrace.

The territories of thoſe civilized Indians who fell under the Spaniſh yoke upon the death of Montezuma, including the village of Caldera, begin at Salt River. We had now entered the mountains, and the fair plains of Tegas gave place to rugged and barren rocks, with here and there a little valley, which produces the wild aloe, the Barbary fig-tree, and a naked plant of a ſingle ſtem, known in Europe by the name *Cierge Paſcal.* The trunk, ſpringing from the ground to the height of fifteen feet, ſends off four or five branches, which, diverging between three and four feet from the ſtem, ſhoot together to the elevation of twenty feet; and this is the only plant or tree found in the whole of this country.

In four days more we entered among trees, which, in the form of their leaves and arrangement of their branches, appeared to be a ſpecies of date. It may be claſſed with the fig-bannan of India, which is known in the Philippine iſles by the name

name Dedas de Dama, or Lady's fingers. The ſoil in this diſtrict is remarkably light and dry.

We left the ſtation of Cuvilla to the weſt, at the diſtance of thirty leagues, and came to a country of ſheep and goats, which are in ſuch abundance as to be often killed for the value of the ſkin. We followed the courſe of a little river above Montery, which is extremely ſalt, as indeed is all the water we have hitherto met with from Rio Salado or Sabinas: its borders, however, are cultivated, and peopled with Indians. Having travelled over a mere deſert, conſiſting chiefly of high and ſavage mountains, we at laſt came in view of a beautiful plain highly cultivated, in which is ſituated Sartille; and here, after travelling a hundred and ſixty leagues ſouth-weſt, we arrived on the 20th of January, 1768. I ought to have mentioned, that two days before my arrival at Sartille, we had an eclipſe of the ſun, appearing to me more conſiderable, and more exactly central, than that of the 1ſt of April, 1764, which I had an opportunity of obſerving in Provence.

Sartille is a pretty large town of very conſiderable population, of Spaniards and Indians. The churches and ſquares are tolerably handſome; the ſtreets broad, clean, and lined on each ſide with houſes of ſtone. In general, however, it is built in a bad taſte, particularly the houſes of the Indians, who have no notion of convenience in the diſtribution of their apartments. The fountains which one meets in different parts of Sartille are of much uſe in allaying the violent heat of the ſun. Sartille contains a number of conſiderable merchants, and is the chief mart for ſavage productions imported from thoſe countries we had lately viſited, and which are afterwards retailed among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood. It likewiſe ſerves as a repoſitory for all the different articles of apparel, as well as the luxuries of life, which the ſavages take in exchange for their horſes, ſkins, and dried proviſions. The Indians are the only part of the community who avoid the low debauchery of the multitude, the fatal conſequences of which their neighbours experience

rience without knowing by what means they may be remedied. The character of the people at large is haughty, fraudulent, and deceitful. Under high pretenſions to generoſity, they are at pains to conceal their natural ſentiments, which are particularly illiberal and ſelfiſh. In fine, they have all the pride and ſtatelineſs of Caſtile, without the noble and generous qualities of the true Spaniard.

One diſtrict of Sartille is occupied by Spaniards only, or by ſuch as affect to be of that nation; for the fact is, that by far the greater number of them have not one eighth part of European blood in their veins. Their colour is a ſort of mixture of the Indian, negro, and European complexions. The firſt is conſidered here as of the loweſt extraction, and therefore has little connection with thoſe who either are or pretend to be Europeans.

The ſecond diſtrict is inhabited by Indians named Traſcaltequas, who, in proportion as the Spaniards are haughty and indolent, are gentle, affable, and induſtrious. It is this

claſs of the people who apply themſelves to the labour of the ſoil, and who cultivate thoſe fields and gardens whence the inhabitants are ſupplied with wheat and Indian corn in abundance. Here, for the firſt time ſince my departure from New Orleans, I had the pleaſure to meet with excellent wheat bread. The gardens produce apples, figs, grapes, every European plant, and a ſpecies of ſhrub from the juice of which the natives are uſed to make a pretty tolerable beverage. This ſhrub is frequent all over New Spain, is named *maguey*, and its ſap *pouchre*.

Though it was now in the month of January, we enjoyed, under a ſky ſtill more pure and ſerene than that of San Antonio, the moſt delightful weather in the world. I aſſiſted at the feaſt of Candlemas, which is celebrated at Sartille with much ſolemnity, but in a manner ſomewhat new. In the morning, immediately after maſs, the image of the Virgin is carried with great pomp through the principal ſtreets, and having been placed on a theatre cloſe to a

circus erected for the purpoſe of bull-fighting, every one retires. Upon the company's return from their afternoon's nap, bulls are brought upon the ſtage, and the ſpectacle begins, accompanied by a ridiculous kind of muſic performed in an orcheſtra at the elbow of the Virgin. The exhibition continues till the approach of night; when the Virgin, eſcorted by a ſecond proceſſion, returns to her uſual reſidence in the church. The combat of the bulls is ſucceeded by a fair, the principal articles in which are ſweetmeats, wines, confections, and many other incitements to gluttony. On this occaſion is practiſed every ſpecies of Spaniſh gallantry, though the people are in general ſo poor, that many of them pawn their laſt ſhirt in order to entertain their friends with the delicacies of the fair. I was diverted to obſerve with what folly and extravagance huſbands ape towards their wives all the little arts of the lover. I ſaw one of thoſe women, a perſon apparently not deſtitute of good ſenſe, who choſe to be offended with her huſband becauſe,

being without a penny in his pocket, he wanted the civility to part with a favourite couteau-de-chaſſe for the gratification of her caprice. It is the faſhion for both parties to affect a grave and ſerious deportment; while the huſband makes it his buneſs to demean himſelf towards his mate as if it were only the dawn of his courtſhip. This feſtival, one ſimilar to which I ſaw at San Antonio in honour of the Conception, laſted three days. On the eve of this laſt it is cuſtomary for the people to pay their reſpects to the Virgin in a kind of maſquerade, in which ſome affect the character of devils, others that of angels, whilſt the greateſt part appear in the male and female dreſſes of the Moors. The image of the Virgin is conveyed from the church, and being introduced to the ball-room at the houſe of the maſter of the ceremonies, the dancing begins, mean-while the maſks are entertained with a collation; and the feſtival finally cloſes with a rude dramatic performance. It often happens that uſages originally inſtituted for pious purpoſes, at laſt

laſt degenerate into the moſt ridiculous and extravagant abuſes.

Eaſt and ſouth-eaſt from Sartille are ſituated the provinces of Parras and Reyno, which abound in good wine, fruit, Indian corn, wheat, and cattle. On the coaſt of Reyno is the harbour of Tempic, a coaſt well ſupplied with great variety of excellent fiſh. The province of New Spain produces a ſmall quantity of cochineal, a ſpecies of inſect which feeds on a prickly plant, reſembling in ſome reſpects the Barbary fig-tree, but whoſe leaves are much ſmaller, and of a finer texture. This inſect, after making a little cod attached to the leaves, ſhuts itſelf up in it, and dies. By degrees it acquires colour and conſiſtency, and takes the form of cochineal immediately before its laſt preparation. In due ſeaſon the Indian ſpreads a linen cloth under the leaves, and ſhaking the branches, the cods or cochineal fall to the ground. This uſeful commodity grows in the fields like indigo, without the aid of cultivation, and is gathered by the Indians alone, few of

whom have any conception of its actual value.

My fellow-traveller had been unable to accompliſh his buſineſs ſo ſoon as he expected; but now, being in the beginning of February, we began to prepare for our journey. We were informed that the roads were tolerably good, and therefore hoped to proceed more expeditiouſly than it had been hitherto in our power, by reaſon of our baggage. In this view I intruſted the principal part of my neceſſaries to a Franciſcan friar, who undertook to have them forwarded to Mexico as ſoon as he had delivered certain articles of apparel at different miſſions, ſome of which we had viſited on our way to Sartille. The men who accompanied us to this place now returned to their own country; and here I had the mortification to bid adieu for ever to my good Indian of San Antonio. His unwearied zeal to accommodate himſelf to my aukwardneſs and inexperience, in countries entirely deſtitute of every convenience of life, made a deep impreſſion on my mind, and is what I cannot

not ſufficiently acknowledge. Here therefore I was obliged to hire another ſervant to attend me in the further proſecution of my travels.

CHAP. VII.

A Journey from Sartille, by the Cities Charcas, San Louis Potoſi, San Miguel el Grande, and San Juan del Rio, to Mexico; and my Abode in that City.

WE departed from Sartille on our way to Mexico the 10th day of February, 1768; and as we were now entering a country ſaid to be liberally ſupplied in all the neceſſaries of life, we were relieved from the hardſhip of carrying our proviſions along with us. The firſt three days of our march preſented us with a chearful and populous country, but the three ſucceeding led us over a dry deſart ſoil, covered

vered with a kind of acrid duſt, poſſeſſing certain qualities of quick-lime. Our preſent route ſupplies little water, except from wells of great depth, which are brackiſh and unpleaſant; and even this is only to be obtained for money, at intervals of twenty miles diſtance: the keeper of the well lives hard by it in a miſerable hut, which is the only kind of habitation I ſaw in this country. Having paſſed this inhoſpitable region, and about the ſame extent of meadow-ground, we came to a mine named *Charcas*, in the vicinity of which ſtands a little neat town conſiderably leſs than Sartille, but in proportion to its ſize much more populous.

Here my fellow-traveller, the late governor of Tegas, fell ill; but as I was now become impatient of delay, and as the road ſeemed tolerably frequented, I determined, though reluctantly, to take leave of his excellency. He expreſſed much regret at my departure, and even complained that I deſerted him upon the road; but I was under the neceſſity of travelling with the

the utmoſt expedition, having learned that the Manilla galleon had arrived at Acapulco, from which I was ſtill diſtant no leſs than two hundred and fifty leagues. It was the middle of February, and this veſſel was to ſail for Manilla towards the end of March.

I had enjoyed good health ſince I left San Antonio, except a rheumatic affection in my knee, which I cured by means of exerciſe and a cataplaſm of bruiſed mint fried with goat's greaſe. I likewiſe ſuffered at times from a weakneſs in my ſtomach, occaſioned by the Indian corn I had been obliged to live upon all the way from Sartille.

We now arrived at the village of Venau, compoſed entirely of Indians, who live under the juriſdiction of their chiefs; and I was informed the Spaniards had juſt executed twelve of the moſt criminal of the people, who had been concerned in a late inſurrection. The heads of the offenders appeared upon poles erected on the ſite of their houſes, which, after ſending all their relations

relations into baniſhment, the vengeance of public juſtice had razed to the ground.

Exile is a puniſhment much in uſe among the Spaniards; and its object being to conſult the ſecurity of the public, by ſeparating the innocent from the guilty, and by producing a change in their condition, perhaps equally advantageous to both, is evidently derived from the wiſeſt policy. The friends and adherents of the ſufferers, who remain, tainted with dangerous principles, and who, in any ſituation favourable to their deſigns, might be ready to imitate their conduct, the probable means of ſucceſs being withdrawn, will continue quiet in their obedience. Meanwhile, in their intercourſe with the better part of ſociety, they obſerve the happy tendency of temperate and well regulated lives, begin to open their eyes to the falſe maxims of bad education, and at length gratify their deſires in the ſurer paths of good example. I believe it will be found, that great crimes in almoſt every inſtance originate either in opportunity or deſpair; and hence nothing ſeems better fitted to check the progreſs of vicious principles

ciples in the bud, than aſſociating with the orderly, charitable, and induſtrious part of the community.

Beſides, exile frequently places the offender in a better ſituation than he ever enjoyed before; a circumſtance of ſuch importance to the encouragement of good morals, that I am perſuaded there are few men ſo naturally immoral as that, had they been born to the advantages of a fine climate and ſoil, would not have eſcaped that ſhame and miſery which unfortunately terminate many of their miſerable lives; moderate and profitable labour, united to the native charms of a good life, would have reſtrained the greateſt part of them from the ruinous conſequences of violence and injuſtice.

It would be difficult to give a more ſtriking illuſtration of theſe obſervations, than may be found in the hiſtory of our own colonies; whoſe manners, conſidering the diſtances of time between their reſpective colonization, may be expected to be a good deal different. The morals of the people in the province of Louiſiana

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and the Philippine Iſles are much more ſimple and pure than either in St. Domingo or Mexico. Now, without meaning any reflection on the extraction of certain Creoles in Louiſiana and the Philippine Iſles, every one knows that the anxiety of government to colonize the firſt, gave admiſſion to men of all deſcriptions, while the laſt have long been the ordinary places of baniſhment for all manner of convicts from the kingdom of Mexico. I have ſeen at Manilla opulent merchants, officers, and indeed men of every condition, who after wearing chains on their limbs, as badges of their infamy, have, in a country where the temptations to vice are not rare, learned to conduct themſelves in a manner every way regular and exemplary.

The circumſtances of the country in the neighbourhood of Venau ſeemed to warrant this example of ſeverity in the Spaniards; and ſince they only puniſhed the ringleaders of the conſpiracy with death, contenting themſelves with the baniſhment of the inferior inſurgents, it is but fair to admit that on this occaſion they

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tempered the rigour of the law with the milder precepts of humanity. And here I muſt remark, that either Indian population is ſurpriſingly rapid, or the accounts we have received from hiſtorians, of the horrid maſſacres executed by the Spaniards upon the natives of the Mexican empire, have been greatly exaggerated. I am an eye-witneſs to the preſent vaſt population of this kingdom, as well as to the eaſy circumſtances in which, though in ſubordination to their conquerors, the original natives in general paſs their lives. In ſome places the collection of the public revenue and the exerciſe of the police are depoſited in the hands of their chiefs; while the laws of the Spaniſh government upon the whole have a tendency to make them good ſubjects, rather than miſerable and diſcontented ſlaves. Among the inferior orders of Indians, many are admitted to offices in the church, army, magiſtracy; and in all the principal Spaniſh towns, particularly at Manilla, they are invited to a full incorporation with the natives of Spain. It is in the remoter parts of the country alone, where the proud

title of conqueror inſpiring certain vagabonds, whom fortune has raiſed from inſignificance to better circumſtances, with inſolence and brutality, that the poor Indian is made to feel the humiliating ſtate of his dependence. In ſuch ſituations, while little intercourſe prevails between the two nations, the European gives free ſcope to all thoſe abſurd prejudices which people of different countries are apt to entertain reſpecting each other, and which are in a peculiar manner incident to the Spaniard. But the patient and unaſſuming ſpirit of the Indian, who in point of number is infinitely his maſter's ſuperior, conforming to the proud and imperious temper of the Spaniard, the character of both jointly, though accidentally, contribute to order and ſubordination in the ſtate.

The Spaniard whom I took into my ſervice at Sartille, and who ſucceeded to my good Indian of San Antonio, was a man of very bad character. As long as I enjoyed the benefit of the governor's company, from whom I had juſt parted, I conſidered myſelf ſecure againſt injury from whatever quarter;

quarter; but we were now alone, and with the opinion I entertained of him could not help being a good deal apprehenſive of danger. Luckily, however, he ſeemed to have no arms about his perſon, while I, as uſual, wore a couteau-de-chaſſe at my girdle. My horſes and mules had been always kept at graſs with thoſe of the governor, and conſequently had hitherto coſt me neither trouble nor expence; but I was now afraid to truſt them in the cuſtody of my Spaniard during night, leſt he ſhould decamp, and leave me to make the beſt of my way on foot in the morning.

As on this route the traveller eaſily finds a houſe for his accommodation in the evening, I uſed the precaution to purchaſe from my hoſt the provender neceſſary for my animals over-night; but as in theſe inns there is no ſuch convenience as a ſtable, I ordered the Spaniard to ſleep within doors, while I lay in the field, at the foot of the ſtake to which my mules were made faſt. Beſides, as I was always more careful of my beaſts than myſelf, I knew by this means in what manner they fed,

and in what condition they were to travel next day. It is ſurpriſing how much they ſeemed hampered and diſſatisfied with their confinement. The three firſt nights they would eat nothing but a little cut graſs; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty I could make them chew their corn, after taking the pains to moiſten it for them in water. On the morning ſubſequent to the firſt night they paſſed in this unnatural ſituation, ſuch was the benumbed condition of their limbs, that it was impoſſible to ſay from their motions that they had a ſingle joint in their bodies. However, what with pulling them after us by force, and a ſevere application of the whip, at length they began not to walk but to leap, dragging their hinder legs as if they had been tied in their halters; thus, and by means of diſcipline and exerciſe, their blood became warm, and they gradually recovered the ordinary uſe of their limbs.

On the ſecond day of my journey, I arrived at the celebrated mines of gold and ſilver at San Louis Potoſi, the richeſt of which is that of Serro San Pedro. Potoſi

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is a handſome well-built town, conſiderable in ſize, populous, and ſituated amidſt beautiful gardens. The ſtreets are neat, and run in parallel lines; the churches magnificent; the people opulent, and in poſſeſſion of all the comforts and conveniencies of life. The Indians, however, appear to be of a melancholy humour all over this province; for, beſides the ordinary hardſhips of a yoke to which they have ever ſubmitted with reluctance, the impoſition of new taxes, and the abolition of the order of the jeſuits, were recent cauſes of much diſſatisfaction. The Indian chiefs to the diſtance of Venau, mindful of former injuries, and in reſentment of what they conſider as additional oppreſſion, engaged their vaſſals in a kind of revolt, which, as the natives are twenty to one Spaniard, without the prompt interference of authority, and the ſeverities exerciſed for its ſuppreſſion, might have been of ſerious conſequence to the Spaniſh government.

I purchaſed a horſe at Potoſi, this country being eminently diſtinguiſhed in a fine breed of that animal, as well as in rearing

cows for the conſumption of Mexico. The method employed by the people of this province to catch their wild cattle is, perhaps, peculiar to themſelves: the cattle are generally permitted to roam at large over the fields; but in caſe of a ſale are hunted down in the following manner. The maſter coming up to a herd on horſeback and at full ſpeed, forces them to a gallop; but in a ſhort time they are worn out with fatigue, and ſink to the ground on their knees; he then alights from his horſe, and, exerting all his ſtrength, raiſes the animal obliquely by the tail; by which means ſhe loſes her balance, and drops upon her noſe; an attitude ſo aukward and confounding to the cow, that ſhe will remain a whole day without attempting to recover her liberty. Having now ſelected from among them ſuch as he can immediately diſpoſe of, the reſt are relieved from their confinement.

We left to the weſtward of this route the provinces Guadalaxara and Zacatecas, with their different towns, in the neighbourhood

of which are mines of conſiderable value*. This country is full of mineral riches, and ſtill there is a great deal of real though concealed poverty; for the Creoles in general diſſipate their money with the ſame facility as they acquire it. After ſpending two days at Potoſi, I reſumed my journey, and paſſed through a country pleaſantly diverſified with hills, villages, and fields of wheat and Indian corn: a ſack of wheat is ſold here for two and ſix pence when the market price is at its higheſt ſtandard. In reſpect of culture and population this country is very much the ſame with that ſituated between Charcas and Potoſi. The Indians, at whoſe houſes I always choſe to lodge, are ſimple and hoſpitable in their manners; good health, gentleneſs of diſpoſition, eaſe, and innocence of life, are nothing more in them than the natural conſequences of that temperance and love of induſtry to which they are devoted. They are plain in their dreſs, and wholly unaddicted to the proud and luxurious man-

* I was told there are many more to the ſouth-weſt of Potoſi.

ners of their conquerors. A few of them have adopted a little of the Spaniſh faſhions; but by far the greateſt part adhere to the taſte and modes of their anceſtors. The ordinary dreſs of the men is a goat-ſkin, and conſiſts in breeches and a kind of ſhirt deſcending to the girdle, with a hat in the ſtile of an European. The women wear a piece of cloth tied about the waiſt, which falls down to the middle of the leg, and a ſhort cloak over the neck and ſhoulders. Their hair is formed into treſſes, and knotted in different modes on the back part of the head, which they have conſtantly uncovered.

Beſides the alcades, who compoſe a kind of conſulate, in which reſides a certain portion of civil and military juriſdiction, the commandant of the province, the king's courts of juſtice, the biſhops, chapters, and monks, form an extenſive ſyſtem of magiſtracy. This rich champaign country is divided into baronies under different titles; and from theſe the public offices are endowed with large eſtates, upon which they have erected beautiful ſeats, and from which

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they derive very opulent revenues. The luxury and magnificence of the higher orders of the inhabitants are in all reſpects equal to what you find among our firſt nobility in Europe.

Four days after my departure from Potoſi I arrived at San Miguel el Grande, a city much more beautiful and conſiderable in extent than any I had hitherto viſited. The houſes, ſtreets, and gardens, are in a better ſtile, have a much nobler effect, and announce to the eye the ſuperior wealth and conſequence of the inhabitants. Next day I took lodging in the ſuburbs of Queretano, a place famous for the excellence of its manufactures in cloth, hats, and other branches of merchandize. Thence I proceeded to a pretty populous town, named San Juan del Rio, near a beautiful river, on whoſe banks are public walks ſhaded with ſeveral rows of fine trees; thetrees, however, of this country are few in number, and, except ſuch as are found ſcattered on the borders of rivers, have a very bleak and diſmal appearance. They conſiſt chiefly of the Barbary fig-tree, which ſeldom grows

taller than from twenty-five to thirty feet. The ſoil, however, is in a ſtate of good cultivation, extremely populous, and furniſhed with a great number of large towns. Soon after Juan del Rio, the traveller comes upon mountains of conſiderable height; and during the three ſucceeding days he ſees nothing but large commodious villages, which give intimation of his approach to a great metropolis.

Accordingly, on the 28th of February, having travelled a hundred and fifty leagues ſouth from Sartille, I had the pleaſure to diſcover, from the heights, at the diſtance of about a league, a very extenſive lake, in the centre of which is placed the city of Mexico. It has the effect of an immenſe maſs of building connected with the land by cauſeways or embankments raiſed to a great height above the water. At the foot of the mountain, and on the borders of the lake, is ſituated the village of Noſtra Senora de Guadeloupe, which one might miſtake for a little European town. Here the only curioſities worth the traveller's notice are a beautiful church and aqueduct, which, with the

the whole kingdom of Mexico, are conſecrated to the ſame Noſtra Senora. He now proceeds to the capital by a cauſeway at leaſt a hundred feet in breadth, and three miles in length, which reſts upon a ſeries of arches kept in excellent repair, and meant to give free paſſage to the briny waters of the lake. Five cauſeways of equal magnificence, leading to the different quarters of this great city, facilitate its communication with the adjacent country. It is about ſix leagues in circumference, and defended only by barriers in the nature of turnpike-gates.

The lake containing a bottom of deep mud, which is every where impaſſable on foot, anſwers all the purpoſes of artificial fortifications; whilſt an extreme ſcarcity of wood in the neighbouring country equally ſecures the Mexicans from every ſpecies of invaſion by water. The ſtreets in general are broad, run in parallel lines, and have their names inſcribed on the wall, with the number of each houſe on the door; a circumſtance of great advantage to ſtrangers, who otherwiſe would be in conſtant danger of

of losing their way. The inns, as in all the circumjacent country, are large handsome buildings; but the traveller is not a little mortified upon entering them, to find they contain nothing but empty apartments, destitute both of furniture and provisions. The houses, consisting for the greatest part of three or four stories, are good; and the places of public resort, such as walks, squares, and gardens, are delightful. The cathedral, the castle of the Spanish viceroy, and the simple remains of the palace and baths of the ancient emperors of Mexico, occupy three sides of the principal square. Next to these buildings, the mint is an object of curiosity to the traveller, on account of the vast piles of ingots with which its courts are constantly replenished, and which are brought hither in order to have their weight and fineness ascertained. The metal, after passing the assay-office, suffers a deduction of the king's fifth, in consideration of liberty granted to work the mines, which in general are the property of private persons.

The Baratillo, a species of exchange, by reason

reaſon of the regularity and rich ornaments of the building merits alſo the attention of the traveller; and if he is not tired, he will find the piazzas allotted to the purpoſes of a flower-market, millinery, and paſtry ſhops, as well as for the accommodation of the clothier and jeweller, in the ſame ſtile of highly ornamented architecture.

Some of the fine arts, particularly painting and ſculpture, which are chiefly employed in adorning the churches, are cultivated by the Indians with very conſiderable ſucceſs. But of all other trades in this city, the myſtery of the goldſmith is held in the higheſt repute, and his workmanſhip, though heavy, is far from being deficient either in taſte or finiſhing. Silver, eſpecially in the churches, is applied to an infinity of different purpoſes. But in order to have an idea of the immenſe riches of this metropolis, the traveller ought to be here the day on which they commemorate the conqueſt of Mexico. In honour of this great feſtival, every Mexican vies with his neighbour in an oſtentatious diſplay

diſplay of whatever is moſt coſtly, rare, and ſplendid in his poſſeſſion; and indeed it would be difficult to eſtimate the value of the prodigious quantity of gold and ſilver in different forms which on this occaſion meets the public eye. Silver is eſteemed little above a common metal, and hence is frequently ſubſtituted, by the ſumptuous Mexican, for the purpoſe of ſhoeing the wheels of his carriage, as well as the hoofs of his horſes.

The Spaniards and Creoles of the firſt claſs, having loſt all deſire of reſiding on the oppoſite ſhore of the Atlantic, where they would have many fewer enjoyments, and much leſs conſequence, live at Mexico in a ſtate of ſplendour and magnificence. Elegant and faſhionable dreſs is very dear; but modeſt and decent apparel, and all kinds of proviſions, are remarkably cheap. A diſtance of two hundred leagues is little regarded by the indefatigable Indian, who for a ſmall profit imports the neceſſaries of life from all corners of the country. By his virtuous toil and induſtry he eſcapes that

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ſordid indigence and miſery which devour the lower claſs of the Spaniards. The luxury of the great families, their gaming, the grandeur of their houſes, the ſplendour of their furniture, the number of their domeſtics, their carriages drawn by four perhaps ſix mules—every thing, in fine, conſpires to impreſs the traveller with the higheſt idea of Mexican wealth. But in proportion as men of the firſt condition are rich, thoſe of the meaner ſort among the Spaniards are poor and wretched; inſomuch that, under a great coat hanging in a thouſand tatters, you will frequently find neither ſhirt nor breeches. In one word drunkenneſs, debauchery, card-playing, and cock-fighting, conſtitute the habitual occupations of all ſexes and conditions of the people.

I obſerve the Mexicans in converſation frequently apply the term *Mecos* to the northern ſavages, and ſpeak of them with every ſign of extreme averſion and terror. And Chychymecos, when applied by one Mexican to another, ſeems to denote the higheſt degree of inſult and reproach. Now

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are the Chychymecos a particular nation of ſavages, ſtill more cruel and ferocious than the Mecos? or is Chychy only an aggravation of what is implied in the word Mecos? As to all this I confeſs myſelf entirely at a loſs. One thing is certain, however, that the Indians who inhabit the northern regions of this kingdom have long renounced the patient and ſubmiſſive character of their anceſtors; and hence the Spaniards are obliged to maintain, at a great expence, a ſtrong body of Creoles, who are conſtantly employed in carrying on hoſtilities againſt thoſe warlike tribes. Upon my arrival here a detachment of theſe troops were diſpatched to the province of Sonora, and the object of this expedition was to clear the roads leading from Mexico to the mines of Serro Prietto, as well as Matanchel, and other ſea-ports, by means of which their trade is carried on with California. Theſe wars all tend to the enlargement of the Spaniſh dominions, already almoſt without bounds; and one may ſafely affirm, that the number of great towns, vaſt population, fertility of ſoil, mines, and

other rich productions, peculiar to this country, render Mexico, though not one of the moſt powerful, yet the moſt magnificent empire in the world*.

During my abode here the Mexican inquiſitors, whoſe diſcipline is exerciſed with great ſeverity, ordered ſeveral perſons to be whipped through the ſtreets, among whom were a couple of unhappy women, the victims of an abſurd and cruel ſuperſtition. The crime for which they ſuffered was that of creating ulcers and ſores on the bodies of their enemies, by means of certain incantations, and particularly by ſcarifying the correſponding parts of a doll, which they were ſaid to preſerve with much care for the diabolical myſteries of witchcraft. The witches appeared with theſe deadly engines of magic hanging round their necks; while their fellow-criminals wore each a kind of mitre, on the front of which was a label inſcribed with the names of their ſe-

* Not having had it in my power, however, to viſit it as extenſively as I could have wiſhed, I will readily admit that my knowledge of this kingdom muſt be in many reſpects lame and imperfect.

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veral offences. All punishments inflicted by this ghostly tribunal are regarded by the Mexicans as a service peculiarly acceptable to the Deity, and therefore held in the highest veneration. Among the good and charitable offices we owe our neighbour, and recommended in the Spanish catechism, I took particular notice of one, which is that, not of persuading him to embrace the truth, but of chastising him with stripes if he should be found in error.

Upon my arrival here I found the atmosphere moist and cold, but afterwards I was inclined to think it by no means unwholesome; for though Mexico is surrounded by a lake, yet having a high situation in a mountainous country, the air seldom or never loses its elasticity. In this city I gave myself up wholly to recreation, and the enjoyment of those innocent pleasures which this happy spot abundantly supplies. I lived, however, on a salutary diet, such as roots, vegetables, and certain European fruits, which are equally common in the gardens of Mexico as those of its own continent. I was careful to make use of cooling

draughts,

draughts, conſiſting chiefly of water and the meal of Indian corn, which, after being boiled to a certain point, acquires the conſiſtency of chocolate, and is named by the Spaniards *atollé*.

I proceeded once more to viſit the curioſities of Mexico, the churches, palaces, public walks, the gardens of Almeyda, and the aqueduct and gardens of Tacuba. But in the mean time the day of the galleon's ſailing from Acapulco, being the 25th, or at lateſt the 30th of March, was drawing near, and I began to be anxious for the arrival of my baggage, which I had delivered to the monk at Sartille. I had been three weeks at Mexico, when I received a letter from Queretano, informing me that the Franciſcan had unluckily fallen ill, a circumſtance which would protract the arrival of my things for ſome time; but that, upon his recovery, they ſhould be forwarded to me with all poſſible diſpatch. Delay, however, was now impracticable without loſing the opportunity of the galleon; and therefore, rather than ſubmit to the riſk of ſo ſerious a diſappointment, I determined to

leave them behind me. I desired, however, a merchant of my acquaintance to sell them as soon as they came to hand, and to remit whatever money they might yield as a present for my good Indian of San Antonio. I was not a little dissatisfied with the negligence of the monk; but in my present situation I had no other alternative.

CHAP. VIII.

A Journey from the City of Mexico, by Rio de las Balsas, and the Village of Chilpinsingo, to the Port of Acapulco; and my Abode in that Place.

ON the 18th of March I set out alone with my two mules, on the road to Acapulco; for the Spaniard I hired at Sartille, resolved, it seems, I should not entertain a bad opinion of him without reason, disappeared soon after my arrival at Mexico, with

with the horſe I purchaſed at Potoſi. I had engaged a French ſervant in his place, whom I found in the moſt indigent circumſtances; but after living at my expence for ſeveral days, he likewiſe choſe to abſcond the evening before my departure. My impatience to get to Acapulco was ſo great, that, though entirely alone, I could not brook the delay of a moment longer. The roads, however, being broad, and much frequented, I did not find myſelf in any danger of loſing my way. After paſſing a cauſeway equally magnificent as that of Guadeloupe, I aſcended a very high hill, and ſlept amidſt the huts of Indians, who were employed in making charcoal from a wood of pines, at a place called Tchuſco. Next day, having travelled acroſs ſeveral ſmall ſtunted woods, I came to ſleep at the village of Cuernavaca, on the ſouth ſide of a hilly ridge; whence, as early as I awaked, I was delighted with the proſpect of gardens, interſperſed with pieces of water, and producing every kind of European as well as American fruit. As my road the following day lay over wild and barren

mountains, with here and there a ſtraggling fir, it was conſiderably bleak and melancholy; in the little bottoms, however, the traveller obſerves ſmall plantations of Indian corn, which contribute in ſome degree to diverſify and enliven the ſcene. Deſcending from the heights I met an Indian under a load of fruit and vegetables, on his way to Mexico, he had his aſs to accompany and aſſiſt him; but in pity to the fatigue and infirmities of the aſs, his humane maſter had ſhifted the burden to his own ſhoulders, leaving his aged ſervant to walk before him at his eaſe; a cuſtom prevalent, I am told, all over the country. The two firſt days I enjoyed the company of the Indians, as they paſſed between the neighbouring villages; but at laſt I found myſelf under the neceſſity of hiring a guide from one place to another.

I left on the right the mines of Taſcou, or Real del Monte; and having ſlept at Cannobial, or the village of Reeds, on the fifth day ſince my departure from Mexico I paſſed a deep and rapid river, called Rio de las Balſas, or the River of Rafts, which

are

are here made of the ſweet calamus, kept afloat by means of gourd bottles. The flies riſe in ſuch ſwarms from this river, and are ſo extremely troubleſome, that the traveller finds it convenient to continue his journey during the night; here the road enters a ſeries of narrow vallies, and afterwards leading acroſs a very difficult rivulet, I was obliged to hire a negro for my conductor. This African gave me a very early ſpecimen of his cunning and diſhoneſty; for we had no ſooner come to an obſcure part of the road, than he gave his horſe the ſpur, and ruſhed into a dark narrow lane. I ſaw it was his intention to run off with one of my mules, which was tied behind him, and I paſſed him in a moment at full gallop. He was obliged to ſtop and excuſe himſelf in the beſt manner he could, endeavouring to make me believe it was an accident occaſioned by the unruly temper of his horſe. I rode cloſe by his ſide, however, during the remainder of our journey, holding my couteau-de-chaſſe ready to ſtrike him upon the ſmalleſt appearance of a ſimilar accident; but he wanted courage

to repeat an experiment which had ſucceeded ſo ill in the firſt attempt. I was now heartily ſick of my guide; and therefore, on our arrival at the firſt village, I gave him his diſcharge, and we parted, equally, I have no doubt, diſguſted with each other. Having entered a flat, but fertile and well cultivated country, I came to a town called Chilpinſingo, which conſiſts entirely of Indians, with whom, except a very few Spaniards, this whole country is peopled. Hitherto the ſoil produces only a ſmall quantity of oil, pitch, Indian corn, ſugar, cocoa, and fruit; but now all thoſe productions begin to appear in abundance, whilſt the roads, extremely rugged, and in ſome places almoſt impaſſable among the mountains, become much leſs difficult. The climate is immoderately hot, and every tree on the road ſeems alive with ſquirrels. Mexico receives a great part of its proviſions from this province, with a freſh aſſortment of oriental luxuries from Acapulco upon every arrival of the galleon.

The dreſs of the Indians, and manners of the country, are nearly the ſame as in the more

more northern parts of the kingdom, except that they have a kind of reed-grating inſtead of walls to their houſes, as a precaution againſt the intemperate heat of the ſun. I purſued my way to Rio Papagallos or Perroquet River, and put up at the houſe of a good Indian, who received me with much hoſpitality. Next morning, as there remained now only twenty leagues to Acapulco, I was reſolved to accompliſh them without ſleeping. I travelled ten of them alone; but the road turning in among the mountains which overlook Acapulco, I reſted two hours at a little village, and took a guide for the enſuing night. We had proceeded half way in our journey, when my guide becoming extremely tired, and earneſtly deſiring a little reſpite, though his maſter was amply paid for his attendance the whole way to Acapulco, I was obliged to leave him on the road, and travel alone. Having learned that a meſſenger with the galleon's laſt diſpatches from the viceroy of Mexico had paſſed two days ſince, and obſerving that the loſs of one hour might prove fatal to my intended

voyage, I would on no account whatever ſubmit to delay. But I was now in a narrow path, intricate and much incumbered with large ſtones, and therefore found myſelf under the neceſſity of proceeding with caution. Beſides, I was apprehenſive of loſing myſelf in the darkneſs; but having learned from experience that the mule always adheres to the beaten path, I laid the bridle on his neck, and left him entirely to his own diſcretion. A little paſt one in the morning I reached the top of a very high mountain; where to my infinite joy I began to hear the breakers on the weſtern ſhore, and gave thanks to that merciful Providence which had conducted me in ſafety to the end of a very painful and arduous journey. My deſcent from the mountain preſenting me with a view of the wide ocean, I again fell upon my knees, and adored Heaven for the enchanting proſpect of the ſhip and element below me; a proſpect, the very idea of which had ſupported my ſtrength and ſpirits in many a difficult and diſmal ſituation. In fine, at ſix in the morning, after travelling a hundred leagues ſouth-

ſouth-ſouth-weſt from Mexico, and eight hundred from New Orleans, I arrived at the port of Acapulco, which the natives name Portou, or by way of eminence the Port.

Acapulco is only a miſerable little town, which however is dignified with the name of city; and being ſurrounded with volcanic mountains, the atmoſphere is conſtantly thick and unwholeſome. The inhabitants are few, and almoſt entirely Africans. The harbour is ſafe, beautiful, and extenſive: beſides its being the ordinary port for the Manilla galleon, it uſed to be frequented by Peruvian veſſels, which came hither to buy pitch and tar, as well as the different commodities of China and Europe. This trade, however, the company of Lima thought proper, ſome time ſince, entirely to aboliſh. Now the inhabitants are become totally idle, and deſtitute of every ſpecies of traffic; and hence the fair pearls, which, with a little induſtry, might be obtained from their own coaſts, as well as thoſe of California, lie wholly neglected. The town ſtands on a bay north-weſt from the road, formed by the curvature of the

the coaſt, and a ſmall promontory on which is an old fort in miſerable repair. Ships may ride at anchor two cables length from the ſhore, and be ſheltered from the ſtorm by a point of land ſituated under the fort. There is another little bay in the quarter of the ſouth-eaſt under a mountainous ſtrip of land, which ſeparates and protects the road from the open ſea. This ſtation is ſtill ſafer than the former, and therefore frequented by ſuch veſſels as have occaſion to winter at Acapulco. There is beſides, without the road, and about half a league from the town, a creek of conſiderable capacity, which I imagine might afford good harbour for ſhipping, at leaſt during the fine ſeaſon. The road of Acapulco is about three leagues in breadth, but the entrance to it is too wide to be put in a proper poſture of defence.

Sonſonate, Acapulco, Matanchel, and San Joſeph, are the only ports frequented by the Spaniards on this part of the ſouth ſea. Sonſonate is the port of Peruvian veſſels, which reſort thither for the purpoſe of buying pitch and wood; Acapulco

of

of the Manilla galleon, which imports all ſorts of Indian and Chineſe commodities, and returns with their value in ſpecie; Matanchel is a mart for the trade of California; and San Joſeph is little more than a watering-place for the Manilla ſhip at her firſt arrival on the coaſt of New Spain or California.

During the time I ſojourned at this place we had three ſhocks of an earthquake. As it was my conſtant practice to live in the houſes, and conform myſelf to the manners, of the Indians, I happened to be lying on the floor, and in a moment of drowſineſs preceding ſound ſleep, which however is compatible with the conſciouſneſs of external motion, when I perceived the ground tremble under me, and heard a noiſe like the rattling of a heavy carriage over the rough pavement of a narrow lane. In my reverie I fancied myſelf ſtill at Mexico, which is kept in a ſtate of conſtant tremour by the vaſt concourſe of coaches and other machines; but I could not account for the violent impreſſion they made on the walls of the houſe. Such was the

reaſoning

reaſoning of my clouded faculties, when I was completely awaked by the ſcreams of women and children, who ran about in the ſtreets crying, pouring forth prayers to the Almighty, and exclaiming in one voice, Ave Maria! Ave Maria Santiſſima! I was no longer at a loſs for the meaning of the tremulous motion I had felt; and I obſerved that the noiſe, ſtill heard at times in the direction of the mountains, was always ſucceeded by a ſhock, which appeared to me nothing more than the diffuſion of its vibrations. The eruption of a volcano contained in the bowels of a mountain produces, I preſume, a concuſſion in the contiguous parts of the earth, whoſe vibrations, propagated to a greater or leſs diſtance, according to the quantity and activity of the volcanic matter, we denominate a ſhock.

The principal part of the galleon's cargo having been forwarded to Mexico, the annual fair of Acapulco, which happens at this ſeaſon, was confined to the little articles of a few pedlars, who have been uſed to ſupply the officers and clerks in the Chineſe

Chineſe trade with certain neceſſaries for the voyage. We had three millions of piaſtres on board, partly deſtined to purchaſe the galleon's next cargo, and partly to defray the expences of government in the Philippine Iſles. In ſhort, having ſeen no fewer than a hundred paſſengers embark, at leaſt forty of whom were monks, I went on board the galleon.

CHAP. IX.

A Voyage from Acapulco to the Philippine Iſlands—A Viſit to Guam, one of the Marian Iſles—An Excurſion on ſome of the moſt eaſterly of the Philippines; and my Abode in the City of Manilla.

WE ſet ſail from the road of Acapulco, on our paſſage to Manilla, the 2d of April 1768, with the wind in the north-weſt, ſteering towards the S. and S. S. W.—One muſt have had the mortification

cation to be a paſſenger in a Spaniſh galleon, in order to have an idea of the horrid confuſion which now preſented itſelf; and yet I was aſſured her preſent condition was every thing that is quiet and orderly, compared with her crouded and tumultuous plight on her laſt voyage from Manilla. Though a veſſel of only five hundred tons, ſhe carried, beſides the ſhip's company, convicts, monks, women, merchants, officers civil and military, with a large detachment of clerks. The emoluments of an officer in the ſervice of the galleon, excluſive of the advantages of trade, are very conſiderable; and his place, ſaleable at the end of each voyage, is often veſted in a perſon who has not the ſmalleſt pretenſions to the character of a ſailor. The pilots alone are entruſted with the ſailing of the ſhip, and have the rank of major in the king's ſervice. I found it was a regulation on board that each perſon ſhould lay in his own water and ſtores, and eat apart by himſelf. The crew were not even provided in a common kettle, whilſt certain individuals had each one for his own particular uſe. As a com-

mon ſailor on board the galleon may have a couple of ſervants to attend him, our domeſtics were more numerous than their maſters, and being without all order and diſcipline, gave occaſion to intolerable uproar. Not having had it in my power to purchaſe proviſions for my paſſage at Acapulco, ſome days after our departure I made an agreement, in conſequence of which I meſſed with one of the pilots.

Having reached the thirteenth degree of latitude, we ſtood W. and S. W. with a faint breeze at E. and E. N. E. the wind was ſcarce in ſufficient quantity to fill our ſails, but what little we had was ſteady, and we made conſiderable way. In thoſe regions, as at Acapulco, the horizon is conſtantly hazy, and the heat of the atmoſphere cloſe and oppreſſive. We had frequent lightning during the night, accompanied with loud claps of thunder. Having arrived at the tenth degree of northern latitude, we continued our courſe, varying between the ninth and eleventh, and were upwards of fifteen days without touching a ſail. The wind freſhening a little in the ſame quarter

of

of the eaſt, the ſky became perfectly ſerene, and the rate of our going was accelerated with the fineſt weather, and the moſt beautiful ſea in the world.

On the 15th of May we began to obſerve flying-fiſh, with wings of a reddiſh colour, whereas the wings of ſuch as I had hitherto met with were of a duſky white. On the 20th we ſaw ſeveral kinds of ſea-fowl; and from the 20th to the 30th we were admoniſhed by thunder, lightning, and flocks of ſmall birds, to be on our guard againſt certain rocks and ſand-banks ſituated about four hundred leagues eaſt of the Marian, or Ladrone iſlands.

Standing for ſome days between the twelfth and thirteenth degree, on the 9th of June, with the wind always E. and E. N. E. we diſcovered mountains in the E. N. E. of the iſland Guam. This is the only one of the Marian iſles on which the Spaniards have a ſettlement; and their new governor being in the galleon, we came to anchor the following day ſouth of the iſland, in thirty fathoms water. We lay at the diſtance of a cannon-ſhot from land,

oppoſite

oppoſite to a ſmall fort, and a village of Indians. This fort is only three leagues from the principal town, which is the ordinary reſidence of the governor, as well as of the greater part of the inhabitants. It is of a certain extent, and ſtands on the border of a little river, at the mouth of which is a road for ſhipping, tolerably ſafe during the ſummer months. The place, however, where we dropped anchor being protected from the north-weſt winds, which, as the rains had begun to fall, were now prevalent, we deemed ſtill more ſecure. In the E. and N. E. we ſaw a little iſland covered with cocoa-trees, and ſeparated from the mainland by a large ſhoal of a whitiſh colour. It had been uſual to ſend a veſſel from Manilla to this iſland once in two or three years; but owing to ſome accident it was now eight ſince the inhabitants had ſeen a ſtranger on ſhore.

The natives of Guam are tall and well made; and, as far as one is warranted to judge from the expreſſion of the face, are of an open, confidential, and generous character. It was here I firſt met with the

cuſtom of chewing betel, which is the leaf of a ſhrub of the ſame name. This leaf, when ſmeared over with ſlaked lime, and wrapped round a parcel of a ſpecies of cheſtnut obtained from a tree named *areca*, is placed in the mouth, and after being chewed for ſome time produces an irritation on the palate, and a reddiſh ſaliva. It affords the Indian a very ſenſible degree of pleaſure; and the uſe of it to many in thoſe regions becomes equally neceſſary as that of ſnuff to an European. The more coarſe and ſenſual among the people mix it up with tobacco, opium, and other rank drugs: but in the mouth of the Indian this compoſition exhales a very grateful odour, which he has much ſatisfaction in imparting to his companions; and when a woman chuſes to favour her admirer with a portion of her maſticated betel, he receives it as a pledge of peculiar intimacy and friendſhip. For my part, beſides its extreme heat and pungency on the palate of a novice, and the diſguſting effect of perpetually ſpitting a kind of reddiſh viſcous matter, it never gave me the ſmalleſt pleaſure,

ſure, nor do I believe I ſhould ever be able to acquire the habit of uſing it. We met here with an excellent kind of brandy, manufactured from the fermented juice of the cocoa-tree. I remember to have ſeen brandy of an equally good quality in New Spain, made with the ſap of a ſpecies of aloes, whoſe fibres are ſtrong and uſeful to the natives for the purpoſes of thread.

The natives of the Philippine Iſles pretend, that the inhabitants of Guam, and the other Marian Iſlands, are originally deſcended as colonies from them; an opinion which I think by no means improbable. The Indians on this iſland may be in all about ten thouſand, and are diſtributed into ſeven or eight villages. The ſoil is extremely fertile, producing rice, Indian corn, and vegetables in abundance. They have ſome cows, plenty of poultry, and many different kinds of fruit. The only ſpecies, however, of this laſt I was not acquainted with before, is in this country named *rima* *, or the fruit of the bread-tree.

* At Tinian, near Guam, Anſon and his crew lived ſeveral weeks on the fruit of the rima.—See his Voyages.

The bread-fruit is between five and ſix inches in diameter, has a rough ſkin like the coarſeſt ſhagreen, and conſiſts internally of a yellowiſh ſubſtance, which the Indians prepare for their uſe by boiling, and afterwards roaſting on the embers. The bread-tree, the cocoa, and fig-bannan, are very common in the woods of Guam; and the face of the country preſents numberleſs beautifully diverſified landſcapes, conſiſting of lawns, high woody hills, and vallies in excellent cultivation. The principal town, at the diſtance of four leagues in the country, is ſituated on the north-weſt of the iſland, on the border of a conſiderable river, at the mouth of which ſhips may come to anchor, but the road is by no means one of the beſt.

Having taken in freſh water and proviſions, and received the late governor on board, the 15th of June we again put to ſea; and as it was now the ſeaſon of unremitting rain, we quitted Guam with little regret. We ſtood weſt and a quarter north-weſt, with a gentle breeze from the eaſt, but on the 25th the wind changed to the north,

north, accompanied with frequent calms. We had hitherto enjoyed an excellent paſſage, and were now only a hundred leagues from the Philippine Iſles; but here the ſky became ſuddenly overcaſt, and the weather rough and tempeſtuous. On the 30th the wind blew with increaſing violence, the ſqualls were more frequent, and the atmoſphere appeared every where loaded with low and diſmal clouds. Early on the 8th of July the wind ſhifted to the ſouth, and for the ſpace of ſeven days blew a moſt furious ſtorm, in the courſe of which we loſt a part of our rudder, and ſuffered in other reſpects conſiderable damage. I may, on other occaſions, have been expoſed to winds of equal violence, but in my experience as a ſeaman I never ſaw them convulſe the elements in the ſame ſublimely great and aweful manner. On the 27th the ſtorm abated, and the weather becoming favourable, we found we had been carried greatly to the northward of our courſe. Having regulated our ſailing in the beſt manner we could, conſidering the ſtate of the atmoſphere, on

the 24th we discovered land, which we took for the island Samar, where it borders on the streights of San Juannico. It was now a month since we had been able to take an observation of the sun; and we perceived we were much to the south of *Cape Spiritu Santo*, according to which we intended to have directed our course. Upon our approaching land we had at one time a dead calm, at another a perfect storm, the current meanwhile hurrying us rapidly towards the south-south-west. The weather becoming again violently tempestuous, we were obliged to stand out to sea, and contend with a second storm; which however lasted only five days, and was in no respect to be compared with the former. Having at length come in view of Cape Spiritu Santo, we made towards the shore; and as it was now the time of the boisterous west winds, and being still a hundred leagues from Manilla, across a dangerous Archipelago, it was thought unadviseable to attempt this navigation so late in the season. It was therefore resolved to put in and winter on the island Samar; and accordingly, on the

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1ſt of Auguſt, having entered a ſpacious road formed by three iſlands at the mouth of a river which is named Palapa, from an adjacent village, we came to anchor in ſeven fathom water.

The landing-place at Cape Spiritu Santo, is to be diſtinguiſhed by means of a high flat-topped mountain, which appears in the weſt of it, and is named *Menſa*, or the Table of Palapa. Here the land recedes from the eye towards the place where we actually moored, which is about ſix leagues weſt from the cape. As the ſhip approaches the ſhore, the pilot may obſerve a cluſter of little hills in the ſhape of ſugar-loaves on the mainland, and cloſe to the iſland Quiprau, the moſt eaſtward of the three above-mentioned. The iſland *Cagayagan* is ſituated to the weſt, and that of Lawan to the ſouth of it, and conſequently nearer the mainland. Between Quiprau and the ſhore is the north-eaſt mouth of the Palapa, which is indeed the wideſt; but, beſides being deficient in depth of water, it is much embarraſſed with many dangerous rocks. It is therefore adviſeable

to go on keeping the land at the diſtance of three leagues; and as ſoon as you have paſſed the iſland Quiprau, the proper entrance to the road opens to the view. Two prominent points, however, extending from theſe iſlands in ſunk rocks and ſand-banks about a league into the ſea, which may be ſeen from the maſt's top, ſometimes of a light and ſometimes of a dark colour, render it neceſſary to ſtretch a little more to the north-eaſt. Steering ſouth-ſouth-eaſt, you will preſently enter between the two iſlands, when you muſt keep the cape immediately over a little uninhabited iſle, which is employed as a burying-ground by the Indians. Here the ſhip enters a noble road, four leagues in length and two in breadth; but if it is her purpoſe to winter at Samar, ſhe ought to proceed to the ſouth-eaſt mouth of the Palapa, where ſhe will lie in equal ſecurity as in any harbour in the world. The watering place is ſouth from the entrance, and upon the iſland Lawan, the only one of the three that is inhabited.

The firſt proviſions we received from this

this iſland we might be properly ſaid to devour; for as ſoon as it began to blow we were reduced to the ſhort allowance of five ounces of biſcuit, and a ſmall portion of rain-water, which was corrupted by the waves breaking over the ſhip, and mixing with our ſtores during the ſtorm. As we were entirely uncertain, in caſe we ſhould miſs the road of Palapa, of the duration of our paſſage, the galleon's company found it their intereſt as well as duty to acquieſce in this diminution of their ſubſiſtence. But this country, ſo abundant in every good thing, ſoon effaced the remembrance of all thoſe dangers and hardſhips from which we had but lately eſcaped. The galleon was now ſurrounded with numberleſs canoes, mingled with little veſſels named champan, which contained a plentiful ſupply of proviſions from Samar.

The champan is a kind of veſſel in uſe among theſe Indians, as well as the inhabitants of that whole coaſt, which borders on the Chineſe gulph, I mean from China to the kingdom of Malacca, and from Sumatra to the iſlands of Japan. It is ſhort, broad,

broad, and very high in the wood, having one maſt towards the head, and another towards the ſtern. The rudder, hollow in the heart with a view to prevent its being heavy and unweildy, has more ſurface than that of a hundred-and-twenty gun ſhip. Little cots of bamboo appear in three diviſions on deck, but diſpoſed in ſuch a manner as to leave a clear ſpace before each maſt. Theſe veſſels, however, the largeſt of which had three maſts, and was made to carry five hundred tons, are much better ſailors than an European would be apt to imagine. The natives of theſe iſlands are ſtill ſtrangers to the uſe of flags, and content themſelves with a ſort of ſtreamer at the top of the main-maſt.

We were now riding ſafely at anchor in the mouth of the Palapa; and I began to think of proceeding by the moſt expeditious means in my power directly to Manilla; and had I been able to accompliſh my firſt idea, I ſhould have been obliged to travel thither chiefly by land. Upon enquiry I found that the weſtern point of Samar is ſeparated from the eaſt coaſt of Luconia only

only by a ſtreight of five leagues; and there being among the canoes which firſt joined the galleon one belonging to the natives of a little iſle in the vicinity of this ſtreight, I propoſed to avail myſelf of their contiguity to Luconia; and accordingly, having obtained leave to accompany them on their return, I immediately went on board their canoe. This little bark was of the moſt homely conſtruction, and by far too low in the wood for the open ſea. A ſplit bamboo, whoſe two limbs united above, reſted in a plank of wood faſtened to the boat, ſerved them for maſt and ſhrouds. The ſail was a ſheet of leaves coarſely ſewed together; and the tackling had been wholly obtained from the bark of trees. A rude branch having two wooden claws, and in ſome degree the ſhape of our own, was in lieu of an anchor. The cables conſiſted in different ſhoots of the routan plant laid together, and bound or hooped, not bruiſed and twiſted like thoſe made uſe of by the Chineſe. A hand-ſpike, with a piece of board fixed on the end of it, performed the office of an oar. Four large bamboos, diſ-

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poſed in the form of a picture-frame, and placed acroſs the canoe, were intended to regulate her motion; and a maſſy ſtone in each extremity of the hull ſerved for ballaſt. But ſtill this very ſimple piece of mechaniſm tended to the ſame purpoſe with that of the moſt improved tranſport in Europe.

Having put off from the galleon, I began to reflect on my ſituation; and was extremely at a loſs whether I had moſt reaſon to admire or dread the rude induſtry of my companions. I got rid of the firſt ſurmiſes of diſquietude as ſoon as poſſible, and at laſt became charmed with the novelty of the objects around me. We had reached the open ſea, and were rowing weſtward upon a point of land about the diſtance of two leagues, when we were all of a ſudden overtaken in a ſtorm: happily it was of ſhort continuance, but it ended in an abundant fall of rain, which in a few moments had almoſt filled the canoe. We emptied her of the water with all poſſible expedition; and eſcaped without ſuffering any other hardſhip, than that of being drenched

drenched to the ſkin; meanwhile our little bark went well through the waves, and it was not long before we arrived at our intended point.

Here we joined a number of canoes, and a crowd of Indians on the beach, who like ourſelves had been glad to make the beſt of their way from the violence of the ſtorm. Some of theſe ſavages had ſtripped off their ſhirts in order to preſerve them from the wet, and rolled up their large breeches above the loins. Others were dreſſed in a ſort of bodice, deſcending from the arm-pits to the middle of the thigh, and a wide cloak, which ſerved as a covering to their ſhoulders. The whole was obtained from a ſort of ſtuff conſiſting of woody fibres, woven in the loom of nature, and found in their foreſts adhering to the bark of the cocoa-tree. On their heads was a kind of round hat, reſembling the ſcale of a balance, only a little more convex. It was compoſed of nipe-leaves, attached by their twigs, as edging to the circumference of a hoop, in ſuch manner that all their points united in the center. The ſkin of the routan twiſt-

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ed into a fillet, and applied to the lower ſurface of the ſcale, embraced the head, and formed the crown of the hat. In ſhort, what with the freſh verdure of the hat, and the duſky brown hue and coarſe fabric of the cloak and bodice, preſenting in ſcaly ſeries the arrangement of the various parts, theſe Indians might have paſſed in a warm imagination for the Genii of the woods.

Their armour was a kind of ſword or couteau-de-chaſſe, which is named *cris*, or *campilan*, and a long target, intended for the defence of the whole body. They now prepared to exhibit, by way of amuſement, a ſham fight, in which, as they evaded or repelled the blows of the enemy, they diſplayed a thouſand ſtrange contorſions behind their ſhields. The retreat, as well as the aſſault, were accompanied with leaps and ſcreams of a moſt extraordinary and inhuman nature. The noiſe and tumult of the ſtorm ſeemed to inſpire them with an extaſy of joy; for, having fixed their eyes on a cloud whence had juſt iſſued a flaſh of lightening or peal of thunder, they ſet up a yelling

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and clamour, which probably denoted a certain ſatisfaction in them, but which were little calculated to excite ſimilar ſentiments in my breaſt. During all this time I ſat under a rock, where I had taken ſhelter from a heavy fall of rain, and opened my eyes wide to gaze on ſo wonderful a ſpectacle. A peculiar novelty in the appearance and behaviour of theſe ſavages, joined to my total ignorance of their language, ſuſpended in ſome degree the uſual exerciſe of my faculties. I now awaked as from a dream, and aſked myſelf the meaning of thoſe enthuſiaſtic expreſſions of joy. Are they the wanton effuſions of cruel and barbarous diſpoſitions? or are they merely the idle and intemperate bluſter of levity and courage? I flattered myſelf I had been able to diſtinguiſh the peculiar ſymptoms of the latter, and began to be under leſs concern for my perſonal ſafety. Still, however, I could not help recollecting the jealouſy I had ſeen entertained of them by the galleon's company; a jealouſy which prevented their being admitted on board, except in very ſmall numbers, and which

I found to originate in their ſuppoſed alliance with the wild Mahometans and ſavage Indians of the Philippine Archipelago. Hitherto they had not deigned to take the ſmalleſt notice of me, and therefore I became afraid they might be ſtill in a barbarous and wandering ſtate of ſavage life, and enemies to the Spaniards, and that all I had yet ſeen was only the prelude to a human ſacrifice.

By and bye, however, there came others in leſs extraordinary apparel, who, after ſurveying me from head to foot, preſented me with a diſh of rice. My mind was ſtill in a ſtate of great agitation, but in my preſent ſituation I had too much occaſion for a friend, not to take what was offered me with every poſſible expreſſion of gratitude.

This rice was dreſſed in a piece of bamboo, pierced in the manner of a ſieve, which being covered with a lid is incloſed in another larger in ſize, and containing a certain quantity of water. The outer veſſel being made cloſe in like manner, the whole is placed over a ſlow fire; and as the

the water is abſorbed by the rice in the action of boiling, ſo the ſurface of the bamboo, which is applied to the fire, is prevented from being conſumed by the humidity it imbibes from within. Whenever they have occaſion for a fire, it is obtained by the ſimple method of rubbing two pieces of bamboo againſt each other.

The ſtorm abated, and we again embarked in our canoe, quitting a deſart iſland, my ſhort abode on which made ſuch an impreſſion on my mind, that at this moment it occurs to my recollection like a fairy tale. We proceeded weſtward, through a canal formed by this and another iſland nearer the mainland; but though I ſaw many canoes paſſing and re-paſſing between the galleon and the adjacent iſlands, I could not perceive a ſingle hut, nor the ſmalleſt veſtige of cultivation. Having paſſed a ſtreight lying between two contiguous points of theſe iſlands, we entered the main ſea, and coaſted weſtward. We were deterred from venturing to any conſiderable diſtance from land, by reaſon of the ſmall ſize and frail condition of our

canoe; and this conſideration inducing us to keep near the breakers, we were at times in jeopardy of being overſet by the waves. We rowed round a ſharp point of land, and ſaw through the trees a village named Lawan, which, with a church and convent, is protected by a little fort erected on an eminence near the ſhore. The huts of the Indians appear ſcattered over a neighbouring wood, which, by reaſon of an extreme luxuriance of ſoil, was become thick and difficult of acceſs. Theſe Indian habitations I could compare to nothing with equal propriety as to ſo many bird-cages; which being either ſquare and grated with the bamboo, or oblong and open to the day, were perched upon ſtakes; and, owing to the motion of the people within, in a conſtant ſtate of vacillation, whereby they produced to the eye of a ſpectator the actual effect of a cage.

Upon my landing I went to pay my reſpects to the pariſh prieſt, who was a jeſuit, as indeed at that time were all the eccleſiaſtics of theſe iſlands. He received me with ſome civility, and here I ate, for the firſt

firſt time, the eggs of a bird named *tabon*, which are as large as thoſe of a gooſe, though laid by an animal no bigger than a turtle-dove. When the female tabon is about to lay, ſhe makes a deep winding hole in the ſand, and having depoſited her egg, inſtantly fills it up, and ſmooths over the ſurface as before. In proceſs of time the heat of the ſun having hatched the eggs, the chicks begin to ſcratch their way towards the light; but as it often happens that in this effort they ſcratch either downward, or horizontally, they are found in numbers ſuffocated in the ſand.

Departing from Lawan at ſun-ſet, in order to have the calm of the evening, we rowed ſtill weſtward along the ſhore, directing our courſe to Catarman. My Indians were excellent rowers, and the canoe making good way, we accompliſhed twelve leagues before the dawn of the morning. Still, however, I was by no means at my eaſe with reſpect to my companions; for though a ſtranger to their language, I could eaſily perceive their converſation often had

a reference to me; and at one time, under the colour of their uſual ſigns and geſtures, preſſing upon me with rude familiarity, they ſeemed, as I apprehended, to have a deſign upon my pockets. It is poſſible, however, that in the then feveriſh ſtate of my mind I may have miſinterpreted this odd behaviour of the Indians; at the ſame time I muſt ſay, it ſtill appears to me a little more than equivocal. Reſolved, nevertheleſs, to perſevere in my purpoſe of ſailing in the only veſſel which goes from Manilla to the harbour of Canton during the ſeaſon, I was prepared to meet with patience and conſtancy every ſpecies of danger. Soon after my arrival at Catarman, I learned that in the courſe of the night we had made a moſt providential eſcape; for that near certain rocks, and at the preciſe hour we muſt have paſſed them, the Mahometan pirates had taken and pillaged three canoes, and carried their crews into captivity. This news was reported by a few of the hands, who, favoured by the obſcurity of the night, had been able to make their eſcape by ſwimming. I was beſides

beſides informed, that the Indians by whom I was accompanied were natives of *Capul*, an iſland which for a long time, without either prieſt or governor, had renounced all manner of intercourſe with Europeans. It was added, that theſe iſlanders not only afford an aſylum to Mahometans, but even aſſiſt them in committing depredations on their neighbours; and hence I conjectured that the enemy's having obſerved and recognized their companions, might be actually the reaſon why we had not ſhared in the unhappy fate of the other canoes.

At Catarman I was lodged in the houſe of an eccleſiaſtic, who was of the ſame order with the former; and though I cannot ſay the reception I met with was uncivil, yet it was accompanied with a diſagreeable ſtatelineſs of manner. He ſeemed buſily employed in giving audience to his people, in ſettling the differences of the Indians, and in preſcribing rules and regulations for the good order of his flock. Towards evening a little boy, who ſeemed to ſerve him as a domeſtic, came to requeſt

that I would pafs into an adjacent room, and repofe myfelf on the fofa. I obeyed, and followed him; but we had no fooner entered the apartment, than he took his leave, and locked the door behind him. I prefently heard much noife and buftle of company in the parlour I had juft quitted, and above all the voice of my friend the jefuit; who having made an harangue, obliged, I could perceive, certain perfons to make an apology to others, advanced, as appeared by the tremulous tone of their voice, to the infirmities of old age. His addrefs became ftill more animated, while his queftions generally terminated in the word *mangateau*, which, in the language of the natives, fignifies *thing*. The whole ended in a very fevere caftigation, the report of which was fufficiently audible in the next room. The idea of the inquifition inftantly prefented itfelf to my mind, and I remained not a little confounded. At fupper, however, in rendering fome account of his judicial functions, he gave me an opportunity of enquiring whether the difcipline he thus inflicted on his flock regarded

garded matters of religion, or merely their temporal concerns. He aſſured me, and from the apparent probity of his character I am not inclined to ſuſpect his ſincerity, that it was nothing more than the exerciſe of civil police, and had no concern whatever with the objects of their belief.

Catarman in the native language of Samar ſignifies cape or promontory; and being only fourteen leagues from Palapa, there ſtill remained eight or ten to Luconia. It was now my earneſt deſire to ſail directly to this iſland, but the ſtreights of San Bernardino, which I was neceſſarily to paſs, being infeſted by the cruiſers of the Mahometans and Indians of Mindanao, Holo, Borneo, Paragoa, and other places ſituated between the Philippine and Molucca iſles, no perſon was to be found who would undertake to be my conductor. Here I diſmiſſed my Indians of Capul, for after the accounts I had juſt received of their countrymen, I would not venture to truſt myſelf longer in their hands. The very name of the Mahometans who infeſt the coaſts of the Biſſayan, as well as

thoſe of the Luconian iſles, ſeem to inſpire the catholic Indians with extreme terror. Hence the pirates have the inſolence to preſent themſelves on ſhore; and frequently carry off the inhabitants of Luconia from under the very walls of Manilla without oppoſition. But beſides the imminent danger of falling into the hands of the ferocious Muſſulmen, I received many accounts, probably exaggerated, of the extreme difficulty of travelling by land from San Bernardino to the city of Manilla. This was repreſented as a journey of one hundred and fifty leagues, through a country which, in the preſent ſeaſon of the year, would ſcarce be attempted even by a native, who is commonly little ſcrupulous of purſuing his way up to the girdle in mire. As an additional aggravation, it was alledged, that in the whole of that country not a ſingle beaſt is to be found for the purpoſe of the ſaddle, except ſome buffaloes, and they only in very few places. But on the other hand, if I waited the ſailing of the galleon in the end of winter, I renounced all

all hopes of going in the only veſſel which ſails from Manilla to Canton in the courſe of the ſeaſon. Such were the reflections which engaged my mind, when the ſentinels ſtationed on the cape, as well as the adjacent heights, gave notice by their bell-drums that the Mooriſh canoes were in view. The bell-drum, better known perhaps in Europe by the name *tamtam*, conſiſts in a ſheet of metal about half an inch in thickneſs, and reſembles the *tambour-de-baſque*, only the ſurface of the former has a certain ſpace in the middle, concave on one ſide and convex on the other; and though inaudible beyond the diſtance of four hundred paces, owing perhaps to the vaſtly greater number of vibrations, its ſound is more univerſally diffuſed within thoſe bounds than if it were actually a bell. This inſtrument hangs ſuſpended from the neck, and is beaten on the convex ſide with a kind of drum-ſtick muffled in a ſlip of cloth. The appearance of the Mahometans, or Moors, as they are named by the Spaniards, at different times ſince my arrival, had excited much conſternation in the

the minds of the inhabitants; and now, having no option but to abandon my deſign of proceeding immediately to Manilla, after a ſhort ſtay on this iſland I returned to my friends at Palapa.

Upon my arrival at Samar, I found that, except the crew, not one perſon remained in the galleon, and therefore the village, which might conſiſt of a hundred houſes, overflowed with the ſhip's paſſengers. I was fortunate enough, however, to find tolerable accommodation, and was enabled to paſs my time on this iſland in a manner much to my liking. Palapa is ſituated on a river, as above-mentioned, of the ſame name, at the diſtance of two leagues from the ſea; and the ſight of the galleon having attracted the Indians of Catarman, Lawan, Catuby, Ubi, and other villages to the extent of fifteen leagues, it was ſeen at preſent to great advantage.

On the ſouthern ſhore, oppoſite to the iſle of *Leyte*, ſtands the capital of the iſland, named *Cabalongua*, which is the reſidence of the governor, commonly the only

only lay Spaniard in Samar. I met with nothing particular in the productions of Cabalongua, except a ſpecies of St. Ignatius's bean, called in the language of the natives, *pepitas de Cabalongua*. The houſes of the inhabitants are conſtructed of the bamboo, and thatched with the leaves of the *nipe*, a ſhrub as common as it is uſeful in thoſe parts. The leaves, being doubled and ſewed to a ſmall reed, are diſpoſed on the roof in imitation of European ſlating. The body of the building is raiſed to a certain height above the ground, and reſts on a floor of ſplit bamboos, the arrangement of which is ſo contrived as to have the appearance of a cloſe grating. One object of this floor is, to permit the free circulation of air, as well as the eſcape of vapours exhaled from the ſoil, circumſtances of great benefit to the health of the inhabitants.

From the arrival to the ſailing of the galleon my time was chiefly ſpent at Catarman, Lawan, or Palapa, which, like all the other villages in thoſe iſlands, have each a little fortreſs, in order that upon the firſt appearance

appearance of the Moors the inhabitants, with their moſt valuable effects, may reſort thither for ſafety.

The natives, eſpecially ſuch as reſide on the ſea coaſt, were formerly Mahometans; but the miſſionary jeſuits having converted them to the religion and allegiance of Spain, now exerciſe over them an authority almoſt unlimited. For the moſt trivial offences, infants, children, men, women, old and young, without diſtinction of rank, age, or ſex, are ſubjected to the diſcipline of the whip; and the aſcendency acquired by the clergy over the minds of the people in their reſpective pariſhes is ſuch, that the Indian, having received his ſtripes with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion, thanks the jeſuit for his good offices, and departs fully ſatisfied of the neceſſity of a puniſhment which nothing but an honeſt zeal for his welfare could have induced him to inflict. The cenſure of the church is in general attended with real penitence on the part of the offender; who, as I was aſſured, is rarely known to relapſe into the ſame fault. Puniſhment is always executed in public; and each

each individual being aware that by reaſon of human frailty he is equally liable to the rod of diſcipline with his neighbour, it ſtamps no diſgrace, in the eſtimation of others, on the character of the delinquent. The jeſuits are at great pains to inſtruct them in matters of religion; and hence, beſides the ordinary feſtivals of the church, two days of the week are ſet apart for divine ſervice, in which the Indian celebrates the praiſes of his Creator with ſuch melody, unction, and ingenuous ſimplicity, as beſtow real ſublimity on the exerciſes of his devotion. I happened to be preſent at the parochial feaſt, which was obſerved with much apparent piety by the Indians, though in a manner conſonant to the genius of the Spaniards. In the morning the banners of the Virgin, St. Ignatius, and St. Francis, are diſplayed from the baſtions of the caſtle, and ſaluted at the riſing and ſetting of the ſun by a diſcharge of artillery. On this occaſion it had been formerly cuſtomary to give the Indians a ball in the church, but this religious dance having been found to terminate ſometimes

in certain irregularities, it was now abolished.——I return to the character of the parochial clergy.

The jesuit, by means of confession, has access to the most secret thoughts of the Indian; who repairs, in the simplicity of his heart, to submit not only his offences, but every thing that is either the object of his hope or fear, to the ear of his pastor. Advice and admonition on the part of the priest, is always accompanied with some small present, consisting in wine, medicine, liquor, or animal food; and thus, by mingling kindness with severity, and rewards with punishment, the natives are gradually reclaimed from their ignorance and misconduct. Like good children, they learn to regard the missionary as one sent from heaven to conduct them by the path of peace and innocence to temporal as well as eternal happiness. He acquires in their minds all the rights and consequence of an earthly parent, whom nature authorizes to establish the principles of virtue and good order in his family. Hence, in situations of common danger, he is their leader by sea

and

and land; and, on account of his ſuperior wiſdom and courage, is looked up to as a ſtrong tower againſt the invaſion and inroads of the Mahometans. It is competent to each miſſionary in his own pariſh to iſſue orders for building or repairing the fort, for providing it in cannon and ammunition, and for the conſtruction of war-canoes, which he frequently commands in perſon. He appoints all ſubordinate officers, preſides over the diſcipline of the militia, regulates the number of the guards, and even directs the ſentinel to his proper poſt. In fine, the clergy of Samar are the friends as well as the paſtors, the temporal as well as the ſpiritual leaders of the flock; amongſt whom I was unable to diſcover either the imperious bigot, or the low Levite who earns the emoluments of his profeſſion by a ſtudied accommodation of his life to the taſte and humour of his ſuperiors.

I am no friend to the exorbitant power of the church; but whatever be the ultimate views of monaſtic policy, good perhaps in ſome reſpects, and bad in others,

I muſt ſay, that on this iſland it ſeems to have a happy influence on the real intereſts of the people. The maxims of the jeſuits conduct here ſeem, in matters both of a civil and ſpiritual nature, much to reſemble thoſe exerciſed by their brethren in the miſſions of Paraguay; though the product of the people's induſtry being permitted to remain in their own hands, and at their own diſpoſal, is a circumſtance much to the credit of the former. I cannot conclude the juſt encomium of theſe men, without obſerving, that in a ſituation where the extreme attachment of the natives to their paſtors might with little encouragement have given occaſion to all the evils of violence and inſurrection, I ſaw them meet the edict for the abolition of their order with the deference due to civil authority, but at the ſame time with a ſtrength and firmneſs of mind truly manly and heroic. There now only remain in the dominions of Spain the jeſuits of the Marian iſles, whom we had no authority to moleſt; and in America, thoſe of California, whom the natives, under different

ferent pretences, had hitherto contrived to retain in the country. As to ſuch as were formerly ſcattered over the other parts of New Spain, they had long ſince taken their paſſage for Europe.

In this iſland the ſoil is extremely fertile, eaſily cultivated, and rewards the induſtry of the labourer with at leaſt forty fold. Beſides other grain, the Indians ſow a conſiderable quantity of rice, but which is wholly intended for the uſe of the parochial clergy, the ſettlement of Manilla, and the governor of the province. The common food of the natives conſiſts chiefly in a ſpecies of potatoe, yams, and a root named *gaby*. Agreeably to the example of the Indians, I lived here intirely on roots, whoſe ſugary taſte is much more pleaſant than the uniform inſipidity of boiled rice. At firſt they ſeemed heavy and flatulent, but they ſoon became familiar to my ſtomach; and I was ſatisfied in the end that they are more nutritious to the conſtitution, as well as more reliſhing to the taſte. I ate likewiſe a good deal of pork, which is leſs in ſize, and runs more in filaments, than ours.

This fleſh, though black, and conſiſting of ſtrong fibres, like thoſe of the ox, is much ſweeter, and by no means difficult of digeſtion. The Indian has a ſurpriſing dexterity at diſcovering the tabon's neſt, and is ſometimes ſo lucky as to light upon no fewer than forty in one hoard; but from the ſhort experience I had of this aliment, I thought it heavy and indigeſtible. From the ſap of the cocoa, nipe, and cabonegro-trees, they obtain the materials for an excellent ſpecies of brandy. The laſt of theſe owes its name to the black colour of its fibres, which are manufactured by the natives into cables, and different kinds of cordage. Another article of Indian food, is the ſubſtance of the cocoa-nut, which is eaten in the firſt ſtage of congelation; for after it becomes ſolid, and acquires, in ſome degree, the taſte of a freſh almond, it ceaſes to be equally digeſtible.

The only inſtrument uſed by the Indian, either for the purpoſes of war or induſtry, is a kind of *couteau-de-chaſſe*, named, as is above mentioned, cris, or campilan; an inſtrument which, after ſerving him againſt the

the enemy, enables him to cut down the largeſt tree of the wood, to be formed into a canoe, or ſplit into deals for more ordinary uſes. When the campilan has been ſo much worn as to be of little further ſervice to him, it is ſtill employed by his wife to grub up a light ſoil, in which ſhe plants yams, potatoes, and other roots. In the ſpace of two months they are dug up in a ſtate of maturity, and of a wonderful ſize, inſomuch that within the compaſs of eighty yards the Indian finds his annual ſupply of theſe articles for the maintenance of a numerous family.

The ſugar-cane, cabbages, garlic, onions, melons, the Chineſe-orange, lemons, vegetables, and, though in ſmall quantity, ſeveral other kinds of fruit little known in Europe, are cultivated on this iſland. It abounds in figs, of which I reckoned no fewer than thirteen or fourteen different ſpecies, with a great variety of perfumes. The natives are inſtructed to give particular attention to the culture of the cocoa-tree, which grows here to an uncommon ſize. Their woods produce the *pamplemous*, a

ſpecies of orange near five inches in diameter, pepper, honey, and wax. Indeed, all theſe iſlands are eminently diſtinguiſhed by the labours of the bee; and hence, I have ſeldom made an excurſion into the woods without meeting numbers of bee-hives, ſuſpended in the form of oblong gourds from the branches of the trees.

The bounty of Nature in Samar is no leſs viſible in the variety and excellence of its game. The woods ſwarm with birds of almoſt every deſcription, particularly the common fowl, which is diſtinguiſhed, however, from ours by the ſhortened proportions of her body and legs. The colour of the hen is grey, with feathers ſpotted like a partridge. There are three different ſpecies of turtle-dove; the firſt grey, and as large as a pullet; the ſecond ſeems, however, to be only a dwarfiſh breed of the firſt; the third is green, and when prepared for the table affords delicate eating. I met with a kind of bird, peculiar, I believe, to theſe iſlands, named calao, as large as a gooſe, and agreeable to the taſte, but extremely ſhy and difficult of approach. He frequents

frequents low fenny grounds, perches on the talleſt tree in their vicinity, and flits through the air with a flight ſingularly rapid. This bird may be diſtinguiſhed by a large red oblong crown, which ſeems to be of the ſame ſubſtance with, and indeed only a continuation of, his bill. This ornament, added to his ſize, gives him a kind of majeſtic air. The feathers are black, mixed with a duſky red. I had the good fortune to obtain a very beautiful head of the calao, which I had the honour to preſent to the academy of ſciences at Paris. The parroquet, cockatoo, and another pretty little ſpecies of the ſame genus, no larger than a linnet, are ſurpriſingly common. There is alſo found here a very ſmall bird of the diminutive ſize of a waſp, whoſe colours, conſiſting in a ſhade of yellow, mixed with red and blue, are peculiarly vivid and beautiful. Many kinds of monkies, one of which is remarkably large, roe-bucks, wild buffaloes, and other quadrupedes, abound in the woods. I was told a great deal concerning the difference of ſize, and peculiar qualities, of their ſerpents; but I confeſs I

ſaw none either ſo extremely large, or ſurpriſingly ſmall, as to juſtify the reports of the natives.

In theſe favoured iſles, Nature ſeems to have been providently mindful of the cloathing, as well as of the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants. The foot of a tall ſpecies of the *fig-bannan* conſiſts in numberleſs folds of bark, which, in a certain period of putrefaction, are ſeparable without art or difficulty. Theſe pieced together afford them a ſpecies of fine linen, harſh indeed, and diſagreeable to the ſkin, in its natural ſtate, but which they have learned to render ſufficiently ſoft and pliable, by a preparation of lime. Beſides ſerving them as the materials of linen cloth, it is likewiſe uſeful to them for the purpoſes of cordage.

Man, in fine, is fed, cloathed, and lodged, in Samar, at little expence of toil, either in mind or body. His rivers are every where ſhaded with the bamboo, and his woods ſupply him with the nipe and routan, two ſhrubs which are made to anſwer all the purpoſes of nails; and ſuch is the dexterity of the Indians in uniting the different pieces

of bamboo, that in the whole conſtruction of his hut neither iron or any other metal is to be found. Two months induſtry in the courſe of the year ſuffice to provide for the wants of a people, whoſe innocent and gentle manners are to me the ſtrongeſt proofs of the real happineſs they enjoy.

The deportment of the men is eaſy, open, and affable; the women are gay and lively, and poſſeſs in ſome degree the flippancy of the coquette, without, however, being inclined to the vice of proſtitution. The Indian has little propenſity to labour, but he cannot be accuſed of avoiding it when any emergency renders it expedient. Vanity and lying are the only immoralities I could diſcover among them; and, though I have not found them prone either to jealouſy or theft, they ſeemed, however, conſiderably keen in their dealings with Europeans. I am diſpoſed to believe that ſenſibility of mind in the Indian is particularly nice and delicate, having obſerved in the exerciſe of his friendſhips a warmth and openneſs of heart which I have not diſcovered in an equal degree in any other people.

A ſalute, the common token of love betwixt the ſexes, and of affection among relations, is here preceded by a gentle aſpiration of incenſe on that part of the face to which the lips are meant to be applied. The Biſſayan Indians in general diſcover a natural taſte for muſic, and a propenſity to the mechanic arts; and I am convinced nothing but want of experience prevents their attaining a very high degree of eminence in theſe purſuits. The flexibility of their nerves and muſcles may, perhaps, ſcarcely be credited; but the fact is, that they handle ſmall objects with their feet with equal eaſe and dexterity as we do with our hands; and can exert a force in pinching with their toes, not leſs than that of a European when he pinches with his fingers. With the aſſiſtance of his campilan alone the Indian makes his fiddle or guitar, cuts down the largeſt tree in the foreſt, and ſhapes and excavates it into the form of a canoe. At one time it is uſed to carve on the bamboo deſigns of no mean effect, for the ornament of his houſe; at another, it is turned againſt the enemy for his perſonal defence.

defence. This, in ſhort, ſeems to be the only edged tool known, or at leaſt in uſe, among the Indians of Samar.

Among their productions of art, the Indian mat merits particular notice, which is a ſpecies of manufacture of ſuch fineneſs, that a piece of ſix feet went eaſily into my pocket. It is executed in various handſome deſigns, and painted with very lively and elegant colours, which they have the art of extracting from different trees.

Silk, cotton, and the fibres of the fig-bannan above-mentioned, furniſh the Indian with the raw materials of his beſt manufactures in cloth. He makes a kind of lace, and embroiders his ſilk ſtuffs with ſurpriſing elegance and addreſs. Each family is provided in a loom, for its own domeſtic purpoſes. At ſea you find the Indian a ſhip's carpenter, ſail-maker, and caulker; on land, a rope-maker and ſhip-builder: but though he exerciſes occaſionally almoſt all the mechanic arts for his own amuſement or convenience, he is never found to proſecute any one of them, excluſively of the reſt. I was informed, but with

with what degree of certainty I will not pretend to ſay, that even the art of writing with a kind of pencil on the leaves of the cocoa-tree, once exiſted in this iſland.

They have a cuſtom, implied in the word *maſſarer*, of cracking the joints, and pinching the fleſh in different parts of the body, which, as they conceive, tends to promote the free circulation of the blood and humours. That of rubbing the children's limbs with oil is likewiſe common; uſages which, as they are not peculiar to them, but prevalent over the whole continent of Aſia, may be preſumed to have long been found to have a ſalutary effect. In place of cupping they uſe ſevere pinchings on the neck and ſhoulders, which they continue to exerciſe until they are ſatisfied they have attained their end. They let blood by means of inciſions made in the ſkin; and as to phyſic, they are wonderfully verſant in the virtues of many flowers, balms, and plants, the uſe and application of which they owe to nature and their own experience alone.

Large breeches, which deſcend below the calf

calf of the leg, a ſhirt falling over them to the middle of the thigh, and a handkerchief twiſted round the head in the manner of a turban, conſtitute their ordinary dreſs. On occaſions of ceremony they appear in their round hat, and a kind of bedgown, conſiſting of ſilk and cotton. Thick ſhort fingers, and long nails on the middle and little ones, are eſteemed highly becoming, inſomuch that I have obſerved them on different perſons full two inches in length. The women wear a kind of apron, which, after paſſing ſeveral times round the waiſt, falls down to the toe; and ſome of them a petticoat of ſo very fine and tranſparent a texture, that a ſenſe of modeſty obliges them to tuck up a corner of it to the fore part of the girdle, whereby one leg is completely expoſed. Their ſhift deſcends only to the top of the hip; and the head-dreſs differs but little from that of the men, except that they roll their hair high on the head, ſo as in ſome degree to give it the appearance of a crown. If to theſe we add a gown worn only on extraordinary occaſions,

I have

I have mentioned every article of their apparel.

The hair of both ſexes is remarkably fine, particularly that of the women, which they are accuſtomed to comb with great care, and to anoint frequently with oil of the cocoa-nut, in order to ſtrengthen and render it of a deep black. Their noſe is ſhort and depreſſed, but the noſtrils are by no means dilated like thoſe of the negro; nor, indeed, have I often obſerved an ugly or ill-favoured woman on thoſe iſlands. The features are ſmall, and not always regular; but they have beautiful eyes, and faces uncommonly intereſting and expreſſive. They uſe pitchers of the bamboo; and ſome of them have a light ſort of leaf-hat, ſimilar to what is worn by Indians of the firſt diſtinction. One of the moſt beautiful objects, in my opinion, that can meet the eye of a painter, is a fine young Indian on her way to fetch water from the well. The large leaf-hat, the delicate arrangement of the thin tranſparent petticoat, and a light bamboo-pitcher in each hand, beſtow a ſurpriſing

priſing grace and dignity on her perſon. In the remote parts of the country, and eſpecially at a diſtance from the miſſionaries, perſons of both ſexes appear almoſt naked.

The natives of Samar have fiſh in plenty and variety from their rivers, as well as the ſea-coaſt, the latter of which ſupplies them likewiſe in very elegant pearls; and their manner of fiſhing, from its ſingularity, merits notice:—There is a certain pea of an intoxicating quality, named *coco*, found in the iſland, which being reduced to a powder, is ſcattered by the Indian, at low water, all over the ſand. Upon the return of the tide, the fiſh which have eaten the bait appear floating in a ſtate of inſenſibility on the ſurface of the water, and are picked up with eaſe in what numbers the fiſherman judges convenient.

The iron-tree, ebony, and dying-wood, grow in every part of the iſland; and gold-duſt is found in ſome quantity in its more interior regions; but the monks, in their concern for the morals of the people, have been careful to get this dangerous branch of traffic into their own hands. The Spaniards

niards themſelves are forbidden to reſide in the Indian villages, under the pretext of protecting the innocence of the natives againſt the corruption of European manners. The council at Manilla, however, has lately reſtrained, by various regulations, the exorbitant power aſſumed by the clergy in thoſe iſlands.

It would require the elegant genius of a Virgil or Theocritus, to make the reader conceive the natural advantages of Samar—the country, of all thoſe I have yet ſeen, or that perhaps exiſt in this planet, the moſt eminently beautiful. How often have I envied the Biſſayans (for, except the natives of Luconia, it is thus they name all the inhabitants of the Philippine iſles) the happy retirement of this little inſular paradiſe! If in the province of Tegas the mind of the traveller is conſtantly rouzed and agitated by objects of grandeur and magnificence, in the iſland Samar he is ſoothed and enchanted with an elegant and rich diſplay of ſimple beauty. In the former the eye flits in ſucceſſion over Nature's ſtupendous works, from the noble but gloomy foreſt

to

to the widely extended plain, bounded by the diſtant horizon; and thence to rivers and lakes, the noiſe and vaſt ſurface of whoſe waters are formed to impreſs the mind with the awful majeſty of the Creator. In the latter are the emanations of his goodneſs, ſprings, fountains, and rivulets; landſcapes elegantly compoſed by various blendings of woods and lawns, curiouſly interſecting each other as they ſeem to float over the varied aſpect of the ſoil. Woods, it is true, without the extent and magnitude of the Tegan foreſt, but which, enlivened by the bloſſoms of ſpring, or loaded with their autumnal fruits, yield balſam for the wounds, and odours for the refreſhment of the natives. The wild bee-hive hanging from the branches; the air highly perfumed with a very fragrant ſpecies of wild jeſſamy, and the ſweet roſes of China; every thing, in fine, preſents Nature in adoleſcence, ſuch as ſhe exiſts before the folly and caprice of man have learned to disfigure or efface her native charms.

Here

Here I was often at a loſs to determine which had the moſt claim to my admiration, the beauty of the country, or the gentle and innocent manners of the natives. Having continued my travels half round the globe, I had become leſs addicted to local and illiberal partialities, and in ſome meaſure ſenſible how little the narrow prejudices of education accord with the ſentiments of an open and candid mind. Hence, if I envied the Biſſayan's country, I was ſtill more covetous of his ſociety, of that ſincerity viſible in the whole tenour of his conduct, and above all of that calm ſerenity of mind but little exhibited by the more poliſhed circles in modern Europe. I ſurveyed with ſatisfaction the ſmalleſt of Nature's works, which the levity of a refined imagination has in no inſtance taught the Biſſayan either to impair or deſtroy. My heart was enchanted in my attendance on their religious worſhip, which is accompanied with a very ſimple but intereſting and expreſſive ſpecies of muſic. Under theſe and ſimilar impreſ-

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ſions, I became particularly diſpoſed to acknowledge the goodneſs of divine Providence, which had led me as it were by the hand through all my wanderings; and my thoughts being turned towards religion in general, I gave more attention than uſual to the conſideration of my own.

The language of Chriſtianity teaches us to aſcribe to the Divine Mind an attribute of excellence unknown in any other religious ſyſtem. In the New Teſtament he is repreſented equally tranſcending in meekneſs, gentleneſs, and humility, as in power, wiſdom, and majeſty; and not leſs great and adorable for the examples of his condeſcenſion, than for that aſtoniſhing grandeur diſplayed in the number and magnitude of his works. By other religions he has been pourtrayed as the object of awe and terror; by this he is revealed in the amiable character of brother and friend, as well as of law-giver and judge. Qualified, therefore, to quiet the fears, to encourage the hopes, and in one word to conſtitute the happineſs of all who ſubmit to its precepts in the ſame honeſty and ſimplicity

with the good Biſſayans, the elements of the Chriſtian ſcheme eſtabliſh, in their uniform ſpirit and tendency, an unqueſtionable claim to the univerſal belief and acceptance of mankind.

The Moors, or Mahometan Indians, have little other employment than that of committing depredations on the Spaniards. At Borneo, and ſometimes Batavia, theſe pirates find a market for their priſoners; and hence I ſaw with no little ſurprize, on a Dutch ſettlement, the free ſubjects of Spain reduced to the wretched condition of ſlaves. The Mahometan in his hoſtile purſuits is actuated by a moſt daring and intrepid ſpirit; and as he is generally the Spaniard's ſuperior in numbers, an attempt to board him always accompanies the firſt onſet. In order to clear the deck of his antagoniſt, the Moor begins the battle by pouring a ſhower of *zigays*, or ſmall darts, upon the heads of the enemy, and inſtantly ſprings on board with his campilan or ſword in hand. Theſe barbarians are but little acquainted with the uſe of fire-arms, and have only a few cannon, which have accidentally

accidentally fallen into their hands in the courſe of their wars with Europeans. In this reſpect they are widely different from their brethren in the neighbourhood of the Dutch ſettlements, who have eſtabliſhed a rude manufacture of muſkets on ſeveral of their iſlands, and are in general greatly before them in improvement. I was much pleaſed in obſerving, as often as it was in my power, the infant induſtry of this archipelago, whoſe inhabitants are only emerging from a total ignorance of the arts, by means of the information they derive from Europeans and Chineſe. The veſſel employed by the Mahometans in their cruiſes againſt the Spaniards is named *bouanga*, and is probably the ſame with the *proa* of Commodore Anſon, which he ſaw in the Marian iſles, and which is particularly deſcribed in his voyage. Conjecturing from the velocity with which it was ſeen to croſs the horizon, he could not ſuppoſe the rate of the bouanga or proa's ſailing to be leſs than ſeven or eight leagues an hour.

The Chineſe in their commercial pur-

ſuits were uſed to viſit, in the courſe of the fine ſeaſon, the principal iſlands of this archipelago; but the Europeans having been long at war with the natives, the neceſſity of being in a ſtate of preparation has corrupted the character of the Indians, and taught them to prefer a kind of piratical induſtry to the exerciſe of fair trade. The Moors are attached to the ſervice of certain chiefs, who pay tribute to Holo, Borneo, or ſome other conſiderable iſlands; and many of them have their reſidence and poſſeſſions in the iſlands of a ſmall archipelago, which occupies a ſpace laid down on the maps as unknown, ſituated between Borneo, Holo, the Molucca, and New Philippine iſles. According to the beſt information I was able to obtain in the Philippine iſles and at Batavia, theſe iſlanders have a ſtriking reſemblance to the people of Otaheite, as deſcribed by Monſieur Bougainville, and indeed to the natives in general of thoſe more ſouthern regions.

The inhabitants of all the iſlands above mentioned having in their manners, cuſtoms, language, and features, much more

analogy

analogy to one another than to the people of the continent, I think it natural to infer, that their intercourſe with the Aſiatics is comparatively of a recent date, and that their firſt emigration from the old world muſt have happened at a very ancient period; and hence it is that the race of men in thoſe regions of the globe, their language, manners, and uſages, have acquired ſo peculiar a caſt. They ſpeak in ſoft tones of voice; and I was told the Biſſayan language in general is ſmooth and modulated. Like the ſavages of New Spain, however, they frequently utter guttural ſounds, by preſſing the tongue againſt the palate. Vowels in their origin ſeem to be the ſimple cries of animal nature; and for this reaſon the language of a ſolitary ſavage conſiſts in the mere emiſſion of inarticulate ſounds, a faculty in common to man with the greateſt part of other animals. Conſonants are conventional, and like the ſtops of a muſical inſtrument mark the diſtinction or articulation of ſound, and are of ſubſequent and curious invention. Their number increaſes with the progreſs and im-

provements of ſociety; and that language in which mutes and vocal ſounds come to be moſt happily combined, will be deemed the moſt agreeable vehicle of our ideas. I conceive this to be the reaſon why the languages of all barbarous tribes contain many more inarticulate ſounds than that of any even partially civilized nation with which I am acquainted. I fairly own, however, that my knowledge of the Biſſayan language is but imperfect, having ſpent too little time in theſe iſlands to be able to ſpeak it with great fluency.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Voyage from Samar to the Iſland of Luconia; and my Abode in the City of Manilla.

THOUGH we had been favoured with many intervals of fine weather, the weſterly winds continued to blow till the end of September, but then the wind ſhifting to the N. N. E. we began to prepare for our departure; and on the 7th of October, every thing being on board, we ſailed with an eaſterly wind for Manilla. We ſteered W. N. W. in order to enter the Philippine Archipelago; but towards evening we were obliged to ſhorten ſail, being deterred by the violence of the current from attempting the paſſage of San Bernardino during the night. Next day we paſſed the ſtreights, leaving the little iſle San Bernardino in the middle of a paſſage about three leagues in breadth, formed

by the iſland Luconia and a number of ſmaller ones contiguous to Samar. Here the ſea has a moſt rapid current, attended with whirlpools, which retarded our progreſs; but the direction of the ſtream being generally in our favour, and the wind increaſing, we ſoon paſſed the iſland Capul, and the *Narangean* iſles. I ſaw the iſland San Hyacyntho, or Ticao, where the galleon takes in water and proviſions before her final departure for Acapulco. After San *Hyacyntho*, continuing to coaſt the mainland, we paſſed in view of Maſbate and Burias, and entered a kind of baſon twenty leagues in extent. We left Marindouque on the larboard, and ſteering into a ſecond baſon, we came in view of an European veſſel, but as ſhe had a great deal of wood upon deck, and carried little ſail, we were unable to aſcertain to what country ſhe belonged; conſidering that theſe ſeas are but rarely frequented by European merchantmen, we gave her chaſe. She proved to be the San Carlos, a Manilla galleon, which, in her paſſage to Acapulco, had met with a ſevere gale of wind north of the

Marian

Marian iſles, and after rolling away her main and mizen maſts, was on her way back to be repaired.

Purſuing the ſame direction, we diſcovered Mount Calapan, in the iſland Mindoro, which we ſoon left to the ſouth. This iſland and the mainland form a canal, in paſſing through which a freſh wind ſpringing up we made good way, and at length deſcried the mountains of Maribelles, ſituated S.W. from the bay of Manilla. Two paſſages lead into the bay; the firſt, though wider than the other, is more difficult, on account of the bank of Saint Nicolas; and therefore we proceeded directly towards the one more remote. They are formed by the iſland Corregidor, and on the ſide of the ſea by a number of ſmall iſlands, and a cluſter of rocks named Cavallo Puercas. The wind blowing freſh at E. and E. N. E. we anchored off Corregidor till next morning in fifteen fathoms water, with a bottom of ſand; and on the 15th of October we dropped anchor in the Port Cavite, ſituated N. E. from the Bay of Manilla. Cavite is the harbour chiefly frequented

frequented by the king's ſhips while in the Philippine iſles. The ſhallow water of the river, it being only twelve or fifteen feet at flood, obliges large veſſels to lie here, though at two leagues diſtance from Manilla. As high as the city the tide ſeldom riſes above ſix feet. The harbour is formed by a tongue of land, which ſhelters it from the S. W. and N. W. winds, the moſt formidable to navigation in thoſe ſeas; and as it is a bold ſhore, the ſhips moor cloſe in, in perfect ſafety. On the point of this tongue of land ſtands an arſenal, which is defended by excellent batteries, is of great extent, and well provided in dock-yards and naval ſtores. The arſenal towards Manilla is protected by a fort erected on the ſame tongue of land; and the whole is covered with very ſtrong walls on the ſide of the ſea. The town at the port of Cavite is named Saint Roch, and peopled with Indians, who make excellent ſailors, as well as workmen for the arſenal.

I was extremely ſatisfied to find myſelf in a city whoſe contiguity to the European ſettlements in the eaſt has conſiderably

corrected the harſh ſpirit of national prejudice in the Spaniards; prejudices which on various occaſions, during my reſidence in New Spain, as well as on my paſſage from Acapulco to the Philippine iſles, I own diſconcerted me not a little. From the Dominicans, who often ſend miſſionaries hence to China, I expected (but I am ſorry I muſt add in vain) ſuch documents and inſtructions to their friends in that empire, as might facilitate my intended expedition to Tartary. The inveterate averſion of that people to admit ſtrangers into the interior parts of their country, rendered this the only expedient from which I could hope for ſucceſs; but finding my views diſappointed in this part of my plan, by the indifference, perhaps policy, of the Dominican miſſionaries, I reſolved to continue my travels round the globe by the way of India.

As I never loſt ſight of one great object, the ſtudy of ſimple and uncultivated man, in whatever part of the world I might find him, the circumſtances, of my reſidence at Manilla were happily choſen. I

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was lodged on the edge of the river, whoſe gentle ſtream glided ſilently under my windows, between rows of the *mangoe*, *mangouſtan*, and Chineſe orange-trees, and only one mile diſtant from Manilla, a ſpace intirely covered with huts, gardens, and country ſeats. The road leading to the city by land paſſes through five villages, which may be conſidered as the ſuburbs of Manilla, and preſents a proſpect chiefly conſiſting in rice-grounds, equally beautiful. About a hundred paces from my door ſtands an eminence ſloping gently into a plain, which affords a common of paſture to all the cattle in the neighbourhood. It being the cuſtom of the inhabitants to travel as well as to tranſport their goods by water, numbers of boats and canoes, employed in conveying the produce of the fields and gardens to market, were inceſſantly paſſing under my eye; and, indeed, no ſtreet of any city can preſent a more gay or crouded proſpect than the river of Manilla. My hoſt had taken advantage of the gentleneſs of the current, and built one half of his houſe within the verge of the water, while

ſome of his neighbour Indians had erected theirs on feeble pillars of the bamboo, from two to four yards in the channel, a circumſtance which contributes to render their habitations eminently clean and wholeſome. The ſtile of building is nearly the ſame with that in the Biſſayan iſlands. The houſes of the Spaniards are of ſtone, ſpacious, and in a taſte intirely different from that of the Indian cottage; inſtead of glaſs-panes for their windows, they uſe a kind of tranſparent ſhell, ſimilar to mother-of-pearl, which admits light in ſufficient quantity to anſwer every uſeful purpoſe.

On the iſland Luconia my time was devoted as uſual to the company and converſation of the natives. I lodged, boarded, and ſlept, juſt as they did, which I eſteem the only method of becoming acquainted with the real character and diſpoſition of the people. Though the Indians here ſeem to have the ſame good qualities of the heart with the inhabitants of the other iſlands, they are not equally free from a certain tincture of whim and caprice. The natural turn of their mind is gay, lively, and

and adroit; but ſuch as inhabit the more northern parts of the iſland are extremely coarſe and ruſtic, both in their perſons and manners. From the natural richneſs of the ſoil the natives ſeem to have imbibed a kind of vanity, which, joined to the univerſal practice of mutual charity and beneficence, makes them averſe to any laborious occupation. The expence of maintenance is an object beneath their notice; and hence ſtrangers from the diſtant villages of their own tribe often make viſits of three or four months at their houſes. This national hoſpitality is exerciſed in a more eminent degree in favour of their own immediate connections; and therefore an Indian frequently entertains the whole family of a poor relation as long as they are diſpoſed to continue under his roof. The members of a family ſeldom ſeparating upon the marriage of the younger branches, four or five different heads, with their reſpective children, often live together in the ſame hut. I have frequently admired this little community aſſembled in good-humour, and ſitting down together, without

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one grain of envy or jealouſy, to partake their meal out of the ſame diſh. It might be ſuppoſed that families thus conſtituted would require many different apartments. This, however, is not the caſe: every individual, ſtrangers themſelves not excepted, ſleep on a mat which is ſpread on the ground in the ſame apartment; and yet it rarely happens that any act of impropriety is known to take place betwixt the ſexes. I have ſometimes found, when I awaked in the morning, that I had borrowed the half of a fine young Indian's mat, who was faſt aſleep by my ſide, without giving offence to her, or promoting ſcandal in the family. I underſtand the ſame habits of domeſtic life obtain in many countries remote from this iſland, without being attended with any inconvenience to good morals. Indeed, the very exiſtence of this perilous cuſtom is a proof, in my judgment, of eminent purity as well as ſimplicity of manners in the people among whom it prevails.

It is remarkable, that during the whole time I ſpent on the iſland Luconia, I never met

met with a ſingle inſtance of wrangling between huſband and wife, a circumſtance that is but too common in the moſt civilized nations of Europe. The manners of even the richeſt Spaniards have been improved by the exemplary lives of the natives; and hence there is ſcarce one family of condition at Manilla, which has not two or three *creanſas*, or poor orphans, in the houſe, fed, cloathed, and lodged, in all reſpects, like their own children. It is conceived to be the duty of the patron, as ſoon as their orphans arrive at the age of puberty, to get the females married, and the males into ſuch employments as are ſuited to their reſpective geniuſes and capacities. I have ſeen, among the objects of this domeſtic charity, women who had been portioned from the bounty of their benefactors to the amount of five or ſix thouſand piaſtres. At Manilla there are likewiſe public foundations or convents, into which poor girls are admitted; who after being properly reared and educated, are diſmiſſed with a competent portion.

The children of the natives, to the age of ten

ten or twelve years, uſually run about in their ſhirts, without any other covering whatever. I think this improper even in boys; and to permit girls of the ſame age, in a warm climate, to appear conſtantly with ſo ſlender a covering, borders upon indecency, and ſeems to imply a culpable negligence in the parents. I am of opinion, however, that in young people nakedneſs is not perceived to be the cauſe of ſhame until the paſſion of ſex begins to be excited by the preſence of a particular perſon. This idea was firſt ſuggeſted to my mind by the two following incidents.

I had walked one day into a wood about a league's diſtance from Manilla, where, happening to meet with an Indian cottage, I found a girl of ten or twelve years of age before the door, ſitting on her hams. She roſe the inſtant ſhe ſaw me, and was at ſome pains to replace her ſhift, which ſhe had gathered up to her arms. Still, however, ſhe remained completely expoſed where modeſty is ever moſt anxious to draw her veil; but her ſhoulders being

now covered, ſhe ſeemed ſatisfied that all was well, and in a moment every ſymptom of embarraſſment vaniſhed.

I had occaſion to obſerve for ſeveral days the ſon of my hoſt, aged eleven years, and the daughter of a neighbour Indian, about ten, who began in their childiſh ſports to betray a certain uneaſineſs. They were mutually fond of each other, mingled little with their companions, and every kind of play but their own was evidently tireſome and inſipid; into which, without deſign or conſciouſneſs in them, ſomething myſterious ſeemed to be infuſed. They were clothed only in their ſhirts; but I could obſerve, that when the heart felt a particular emotion, they inſtinctively drew it over that part, which, on ordinary occaſions, and in the preſence of indifferent perſons, they ſeemed wholly unmindful.

My hoſteſs, who had entered the matrimonial career at the age of thirteen, had gone in the raiment of nature till only the year preceding her marriage. Savages, except in cold climates, the Indians of the Philippine

Philippine iſles, the natives in many parts of India, and the Arabs, generally go naked, or at leaſt with but a ſlight covering round the loins, without being conſcious of the ſmalleſt impropriety in their appearance. The tawny colour of the ſkin, like a thin mantle, ſhades their perſons; but, what is of more conſequence, they are uſed to view with indifference, or in the modeſty of nature, that part of the human frame to which, in refined ages, the unbridled and inflamed imagination of man attaches ideas of intemperate and criminal ſenſuality. In civilized ſociety we often meet with an affectation of modeſty, which almoſt invariably betrays a latent corruption of morals; whereas the thoughtleſs indifference of the Indian or ſavage, as to his outward appearance, is, in my eſtimation, a ſtrong proof of the purity and innocence of his mind.

The city of Manilla is of very conſiderable extent. The ſtreets are handſome, and built in a good ſtile, and the houſes better and more convenient than may be diſcovered at firſt ſight by a ſtranger. The inha-

bitants of the firſt diſtinction are rich, and thoſe of the inferior orders are generally in eaſy circumſtances. Here the taſte for expence, luxury, and debauchery, is much leſs than that which, as I have already remarked, prevails at Mexico. Every object around me ſeems to have aſſumed the air of the gay, ſimple, and ingenuous Indian; inſomuch, that even the haughty and arrogant temper of the Spaniard appears in ſome meaſure to have been ſubdued by the mild example of his more amiable neighbour.

The river flows under the city-walls, is the harbour for merchant ſhips, and ſeparates Manilla from the town of Saint Croix. Saint Croix is in part equally well-built with the capital, is populous in Indians and Spaniards, and ſurrounded by three villages of the natives, which may be regarded as ſuburbs. At a ſhort diſtance, on the oppoſite bank of the river, but on the ſame ſide with Manilla, are ſeveral conſiderable towns, alſo belonging to the natives. Few merchants, and ſtill fewer mechanics, reſide within the walls of Manilla. The great ſeat of their manufactures, as well as the

the place of ſale for all manner of merchandize, is a town named *Parian*, on the other ſide of the river, which is pretty regularly built, and inhabited chiefly by Chineſe. The Chineſe, who in former times uſed to come only once a year from Canton or Quemoy, found means, under the pretext of embracing Chriſtianity, but in fact, in order to inſinuate themſelves into the trade of the country, to leave a few of their companions in the iſland. From this breed their population has ever ſince been increaſing; and at preſent they amount to more than twenty thouſand, who, after engroſſing the whole manufactures, and the principal part of the Manilla trade, begin to turn their attention to agriculture. They are extremely ſupple and deſigning in buſineſs, artful and inſinuating in their addreſs, and, under the maſk of a ſmooth ſmiling countenance, ever on the watch to take all poſſible advantage of the credulous cuſtomer. But they are ſober, induſtrious, affable, and lively. In their perſons they are well-proportioned; and the expreſſion of the face, which is by no

means engaging at firſt view, after a little acquaintance becomes ſomewhat intereſting. I imagined I could diſcover a kind of analogy between the Chineſe countenance and that of the Indians of the Philippine iſles. The bones, however, of the face, eyes, and the bulk of the features, taken ſeparately, are different, and much more comely in the latter than in the former; but there is a conſiderable reſemblance in the noſe, and general effect of the whole.

Among the inhabitants of Manilla are Armenian merchants, Malays, natives of the Malabar coaſt and the kingdom of Siam, beſides a few Japaneſe, who having been accidentally thrown on theſe coaſts, have choſen to ſettle on the iſland. It is a law of the emperor of Japan, that none of his ſubjects, under pain of death, ſhall ſail out of ſight of land: hence ſuch as happen to be forced by the violence of wind and weather to a different ſhore renounce every idea of ever returning to their native country. With an extreme deference for their ſuperiors, they are ſober, brave, and poſſeſſed of a good underſtanding. In their

deportment

deportment they are grave and ſedate; hardy and robuſt in their perſons; but though formed by nature to endure the ſevereſt toil, they ſeem diſpoſed to ſubmit to it as little as poſſible. Theſe obſervations, however, being collected in the courſe of a very ſhort acquaintance with only a few of their countrymen, when applied to their national character muſt be received as conjecture, rather than as certain information aſcertained by long experience.

I was told by theſe natives of Japan, that the only open trade they carry on is with the Chineſe; and even this is ſubjected to numberleſs ſevere reſtrictions. The rigorous terms on which the Japaneſe admit Hollanders into their ports are generally known. As ſoon as a Dutch veſſel enters the harbour, ſhe is conſigned to a Japaneſe magiſtrate, as a pledge of the company's good behaviour on ſhore; and in the mean time the buſineſs of her voyage is tranſacted by European agents, in a place completely walled in, and ſecluded from the public. Some time ſince the Manillans ſent deputies and preſents to

Japan, with overtures of friendſhip, and an offer of entering into ſuch a treaty of commerce as might be deemed beneficial to both parties. The Japaneſe received the deputies with much reſpect, accepted their preſents, and made them others in return, of much higher value; but poſitively declined to negociate, on any terms whatever, either a commercial or political alliance between the two countries. Much about the ſame period, and for a ſimilar purpoſe, the council of Manilla diſpatched an embaſſy to Pekin; where, being received in the character of Indians, they obtained a free trade over the whole maritime bounds of the empire, a trade which is feebly conducted in the hands of the Spaniards; but which, as it is a voyage of little more than a hundred leagues from Luconia to the Chineſe coaſt, is capable of being greatly extended.

Articles of beautiful workmanſhip in gold, and a ſpecies of metal named tombac, which is eſteemed one third more precious than the former, are executed by the artiſts of Manilla; and the gold chains made by

by their women vie in beauty with the moſt elegant I have ever ſeen in any other part of the world.

In the dependencies of the Philippine iſles are numbers of birds-neſts, which are eſteemed very ſalutary and delicate eating. They have excellent mangoes; and the ſago of Luconia, a ſpecies of gum which diſtils from the lopped boughs of a certain tree, is ſaid to be extremely beneficial to the ſtomach.

In various parts of this iſland is found a race of men who, in their features and complexion, have a ſtriking reſemblance to the negro. They are conſtantly diſcovered wandering through the woods, of a very diminutive ſtature, and of uncommonly mild and gentle diſpoſitions. No account is given of their origin, nor by what means this dwarfiſh race came to be ſettled in the iſland. There are alſo ſeveral hordes of roving Indians, who have never yet embraced Chriſtianity, and who are ſtill too barbarous to be incorporated in villages.

The inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt, as in the

the iſland of Samar, were formerly Mahometans, and governed by chiefs named *Datous*, who, while they exerciſed ſovereign authority over their vaſſals, owed allegiance and tribute in their turn to certain neighbouring princes. Some of thoſe chiefs ſtill exiſt in the Biſſayan iſles, but retain no other memorial of their ancient greatneſs than the privilege of collecting a revenue, from themſelves as well as their vaſſals, to the crown of Spain. It is, however, very light, and exacted in the ſame ſpirit of moderation as is exerciſed in New Spain. A few of theſe Datous are found likewiſe in the iſland Luconia, but without a ſhadow of conſequence or authority. I knew a woman at Manilla, Indian and Chineſe by extraction, who had a brother of the half-blood deſcended from one of thoſe ancient chieftains. He had long entertained hopes of obtaining certain exemptions contained in a late edict of Spain, in favour of his birth; but the governor, under various pretences, contrived to elude his claim; and he died ſoon after of want and a broken heart.

Here

Here too I ſaw an officer in very mean and indigent circumſtances, who inherited not only the name, but the royal blood of the Montezumas, the hereditary emperors of Mexico. The lineal deſcendants of this illuſtrious race of princes have only a ſmall annual penſion of five thouſand piaſtres, with the vain privilege of being eſcorted in their carriage by a body guard. Precluded, however, by poverty from exerciſing theſe empty honours, they are contented to have their guards, with the arms of the empire, which they are likewiſe entitled to bear, engraved on their ſeals. An anxious policy, not perhaps of the Spaniſh nation in general, but rather, I ſuſpect, of certain individuals at Manilla, has been too ſucceſsful in rendering theſe unfortunate men extremely odious to the Indians—a policy, however, which is neither unnatural nor wholly to be condemned, were it exerciſed with moderation. Upon the arrival of an Engliſh ſquadron at Manilla, many of the Indians ran with open arms to receive them; but the giddineſs of theſe infatuated men was chaſtiſed with infinite ſeverity,

ſeverity, inſomuch that the deſolation of almoſt a whole province could ſcarce atone for their temerity. The *Sanglayes* or Chineſe, though, it muſt be allowed, with leſs reaſon, fell into the ſame ſnare, and were puniſhed, if poſſible, with ſtill more unrelenting cruelty. Hunted, like the wild beaſts of the deſert, in every corner of the country, thoſe whom their enemies could not apprehend were ſhot in the purſuit; while the miſerable Sanglayes who happened to fall into their hands were diſpatched at the mouth of a cannon. In ſhort, this would have been the æra of their final extinction in the iſland, had it been in the power of the Spaniards to lay their hands upon a few who fortunately found refuge in the Engliſh camp.

From every thing I was able to learn, during the ſix months I paſſed in Luconia and the Biſſayan iſles, as well as from what I myſelf had occaſion to obſerve relative to the ſoil, climate, and character of the natives, I am led to entertain a very high idea of the advantages that might be derived from the commerce of theſe iſlands. They

They produce rice, corn, and vegetables, in great variety and abundance, the exportation of which to different parts of India would return ample profits to the merchant. The Dutch at Batavia have not a ſufficient quantity of rice and corn for their own conſumption; while the peninſula of the Carnatic is obliged to import, at a great expence, corn and vegetables from *Surat*. The ſugars raiſed in the provinces contiguous to Manilla, whoſe cultivation might be greatly extended, would, if exported to India, divide the profits of a very lucrative trade, at preſent wholly in the hands of the Engliſh and Dutch. That the advantages of this trade are very conſiderable, is evident from the conduct of the Engliſh, who find their account in ſmuggling ſugars into the ports of Batavia and Malacca, although the ſame manufactures have been eſtabliſhed on theſe iſlands by the company. I had an opportunity of obſerving, that at Bombay, Surat, Maſcate, Bender, Aboucheir, and Baſſora, the article of ſugar is eſteemed a very valuable branch of commerce.

If the cultivation of indigo and cocoa has

has never been carried to any conſiderable length in the Philippine iſles, it is by no means owing to any defect either in climate or ſoil, but ſolely to the want of enterprize and induſtry in the people. The former grows in a ſtate of nature in many parts of the country; but the inhabitants do not ſeem to have reflected that it might be greatly increaſed in quantity, as well as improved in quality, by care and cultivation. This production, however, might be ſold to great advantage in India, and every one knows the high value of both in all the nations of Europe. Wherever cultivation has been applied to cocoa, it has been known to thrive in an eminent degree, and to be even of a ſuperior quality to that of *Caraca*.

In theſe iſlands grow different kinds of wood and bark uſeful in dying, ebony, and in general every ſpecies of precious wood employed for the purpoſes of the cabinet-maker. The ſmall number of theſe trees cut down by the Indians fall into the hands of the Chineſe, who diſpoſe of them to Indian or European merchants, for the

Aſiatic or European market. This branch of commerce I have no doubt might become extremely beneficial to the public, were the Spaniards only at a little pains to examine the valuable productions of their own foreſts.

The quantity of cotton produced in the Philippine iſles is almoſt incredible, which, joined to the natural induſtry and docility of the natives, might enable the Spaniards to produce manufactures in that branch equal, perhaps ſuperior, to thoſe either of India or China. The Indian diſplays an ingenuity in the purſuit of his different occupations, which exceeds every thing I have had occaſion to obſerve in any other part of the globe. His beautiful dyes, extracted from the wood and bark of his foreſt-trees, he prepares and employs in the fabrick of his ſtuffs, with a neatneſs and elegance peculiar to himſelf. It would be difficult to find a family in the Biſſayan iſlands, which does not practiſe the art of weaving for its own private convenience; and therefore the Spaniards have only to ſtimulate and direct the application of their preſent

preſent habits and induſtry, in order to obtain the beſt and moſt brilliant manufactures of the eaſt. But the very promiſing circumſtances of theſe iſlands to the manufacture of lawns, muſlins, and every other article in cotton, which conſtitute half the trade between India and Europe, though ſuch as to merit the moſt aſſiduous zeal for their improvement, have hitherto lain almoſt intirely neglected.

Iron mines were once begun to be wrought in the inland diſtricts of Laguna and Cagayan, and afterwards abandoned from the unſkilfulneſs of the workmen; but theſe, in proper hands, might afford an advantageous trade with every part of India, which conſtantly receives a conſiderable part of what it conſumes in this article from the European market. The pearl-fiſheries on their ſea-coaſts, and the gold-duſt found in the interior parts of the iſland, are alſo objects of importance; but their value is inſufficient to rouze the attention of the Spaniards, who ought to require of the miſſionaries on the ſpot ſuch information

information as might render them of public utility.

The quantity of pepper I have ſeen in the Biſſayan woods, I ſhall not affect to eſtimate, as I might not be credited. Among their various productions, I met with a young branch of the clove-tree, which was meant by the perſon in whoſe hand I ſaw it for ſome medical purpoſe; but reſpecting this ſpecimen I can ſay little, not having had it in my power to aſcertain its ſpecific qualities to my own ſatisfaction. Still, however, the ſmall ſample I have mentioned rendering the clove-tree's exiſtence in the iſland at leaſt probable, might, I think, warrant more accurate inquiries into the nature of this ſubſtance. The nutmeg of Manilla, which grows on the confines of Laguna, is not, I believe, equally good with that of the Molucca iſles; but it ſeemed generally admitted, that in proportion to the degree of care and attention beſtowed on its culture, its fruit was of a better or inferior quality. I have much reaſon to believe that cinnamon is far from being a rare commodity in the iſland of

Mindanao; and though, like the nutmeg of Luconia, it has ſomething wild and indelicate in its flavour, this inferiority of ſpecies may be owing to the want of cultivation alone, which, I have little doubt, might render the fruit of the Spaniſh cinnamon-tree equal to any exported from the Dutch ſettlements. The vaſt influx of wealth derived to the Dutch from their monopoly of ſpices, pepper, nutmegs, cinnamon, and cloves, ought, one would ſuppoſe, to kindle a ſpark of emulation in the breaſt of the Spaniard, and draw his attention to the ſame productions which are ſuffered to grow wild and unheeded in the Philippine woods.

The great quantities of wax obtained from the wild bee-hive of the wood, the delicate luxury of birds-neſts, the oil and tow of the cocoa-nut, and many other articles equally deſpiſed by the Spaniards, would, in more induſtrious hands, afford ſubordinate branches of traffic with the different nations of India.

Having mentioned a few of the moſt valuable productions of thoſe iſlands, ſuſceptible

ceptible of culture and improvement, I am next to obſerve, that conſidering the population and capacities of the natives, it would be eaſy to render them the inſtruments of carrying every uſeful purſuit to its higheſt pitch of perfection. I am bold to aſſert this upon the evidence of that activity, ingenuity, and reſolution in the Indians, which I witneſſed in many different ſituations.

The fame of the Bohol and Cavite warriors extends over the bounds of the Philippine iſles; nor are the natives of the other provinces, who have had equal advantages of diſcipline and experience, at all their inferiors in the purſuits of war. In a country ſo very little indebted to its connection with Europe, one is aſtoniſhed to find nautical artiſts of all kinds, ſhipbuilders, caulkers, maſters, and pilots. At Cavite, Pangaſſinan, and ſeveral other places, they conſtruct ſhips of the line, I cannot ſay equally well finiſhed with ours, but ſufficiently ſtrong, and in good proportion. The fibres of the cabonegro and fig-trees ſupply them with excellent materials for

cordage. From their foreſt-trees they have learned to extract different kinds of pitch and tar, at leaſt equal in quality to European. The huſk or cover of the cocoa-nut is uſed for caulking, as is a certain compoſition of oil and plaiſter for paying the hull of the veſſel. The mines of Luconia furniſh iron for anchors, nails, and all other articles neceſſary to the equipment of ſhipping. The Indian, conſidering his natural ſtrength and agility, and his uſual reſidence on the ſea-coaſt, or the borders of rivers, is in reality born and bred for the ſea; beſides, when he is on ſhore, he works with a verſatility of genius peculiar to himſelf in the ſeveral trades of carpenter, caulker, weaver, ſail and rope-maker. But if to what I have ſaid reſpecting the productions of the Philippine iſles, the induſtry, the genius, and capacities of the natives, whence I am fully perſuaded every article of trade exported from India to Europe might be derived, I add, that theſe countries are eminently productive of naval ſtores, and timber for ſhipbuilding; that the Indians, from rapid population,

pulation, may be ſpared for equipping as well as navigating the fleets of Spain, without inconvenience to the purſuits either of commerce or agriculture, I ſhall then have deſcribed the means of an oriental navy, capable of ſupplying the place of all the men and ſhips ſent from the weſtern hemiſphere to the Eaſt Indies, whether for the purpoſe of national defence in time of war, or of trade and commerce in time of peace.

Having conſidered the Philippine iſles as competent to the production of every ſpecies of eaſtern commodity, when we turn our eye to the map of the world, we ſhall find that their ſituation is extremely favourable to a direct trade with the parent country, as well as with the provinces of Peru and New Spain, by the way of the South Sea. Many of theſe iſlands, beſides Luconia, poſſeſs excellent harbours; but I cannot adviſe the removal of their trade with Europe from its preſent center at Manilla, until the peculiar advantages of the route by the newly-diſcovered ſtreights of Captain Cook ſhall be more fully aſcer-

tained. Their trade, however, by the South Sea might be transferred with great propriety to a port at a place called *Naga*, on the eaſtern coaſt of the ſame iſland; a ſituation which would greatly abridge the moſt difficult part of the ſhip's paſſage acroſs the Philippine Archipelago, during the dangerous and tempeſtuous ſeaſon of the weſterly winds.

The proximity of theſe iſlands to the coaſt of China, might enable the Spaniards, by means of Chineſe bottoms, which frequent this archipelago, to obtain tea, ſilk, porcelain, and whatever other commodities are not the natural produce of their own colonies; and at the ſame time, in order to the inſtruction and improvement of the natives, they might find it eaſy to entice from China and Bengal eminent artiſts in all the different branches of Indian manufacture. Emigration from the coaſt of China to the Philippine iſles is ſo conſiderable, that I am convinced the Spaniard, with a little policy, might have been long ſince in poſſeſſion of all the ſkill and dexterity of the Chineſe, without either trouble

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or expence. And nothing, in my opinion, but the groſſeſt ignorance of the firſt principles of good conduct, can ſhew why their contiguity and intercourſe with this people have hitherto been little or rather in no degree uſeful to the Spaniſh colonies. The emigrants from China, and the other nations of India, under proper management, might by this time have greatly contributed to promote the induſtry and population of thoſe iſlands, and have ſuperſeded the neceſſity of any other encouragement from Spain, than the inſpection of intelligent men, who could give a proper direction to the labour of the Indians, and the natural reſources of the ſoil.

The political government of the Spaniſh colonies have ſuggeſted a few reflections on this ſubject. Foreign ſettlements, in my opinion, are only deſireable in ſo far as they are the means of increaſing the number of uſeful and active citizens, who may co-operate at home and abroad in promoting the riches, ſtability, and ſplendour of the parent ſtate; and therefore a miniſter may be very idly employed in aug-

menting the number and extent of national dependencies; for if he is careleſs of their induſtry and population, they will ſoon become a weight upon the mother country, or at beſt fluctuating and unproductive ſpeculations in the general ſyſtem of commerce.

Now the number of uſeful citizens may be increaſed firſt by incorporating the natives of the ſoil with the colonial ſettlement. The Indians, though little advanced in the arts of civilization, are in general tractable; and were they to find themſelves emancipated from the rigorous yoke of their own domineering ariſtocracy, and admitted to the full enjoyment of a mild and equitable government, they would be naturally engaged to reſpect and imitate the character and genius of their maſters.

The emigration of men diſheartened and depreſſed at home by misfortunes, by ſevere and ungrateful toil, or by the harſh and rapacious conduct of their ſuperiors, but who are led to hope for better days in a foreign country, is another means of adding to the liſt of uſeful citizens. It is difficult,

ficult, I confeſs, to inſpire the mind of the refugee with principles of ſtrong attachment to a ſtrange ſoil; but ſtill, by ſcattering them over the country, attaching them by certain rewards to different occupations, particularly to that of agriculture, and above all, by treating them in every ſituation juſtly and humanely, their affections would co-operate with the views of government, and at laſt conform to the pureſt ſentiments of public virtue.

Were the laws and principles of Chriſtianity, as they are contained in the ſacred code, candidly preſented and explained to rude and uninformed minds, they would lay the foundation of the moſt perfect union practicable among a people originally collected from different countries. Mutual charity and confidence, which ought to unite the hearts of all men who are ſincere in their profeſſion of the Chriſtian faith, are the ſtrongeſt obligations that can be imagined to produce concord in their purſuit of temporal intereſts. Hence the miſſionary, who is actuated by an honeſt and diſintereſted zeal of being uſeful, may

render eminent ſervice to his country, by ſowing the ſeeds of loyalty and allegiance in the minds of its new ſubjects. But while eccleſiaſtics are countenanced and protected by the magiſtrate in executing the duties of their office, the people ought likewiſe to be ſecured, by proper regulations, againſt that arrogant and domineering ſpirit ſo natural to the clergy.

Perfect equality, as far as is conſiſtent with the difference of talents and property, ought to ſubſiſt between the natives of the new country and the deſcendants of the parent ſtate. Rewards, honours, and employments, at leaſt of a ſubordinate nature, ſhould lie open to merit, in whatever order of men it may be found; and, as nothing tends more to conſolidate the union of different races of men than alliances by marriage, this ſhould receive every poſſible encouragement. The ancient uſages, and even prejudices of ſtrangers, ſhould be treated with moderation and indulgence; and, in general, whatever may contribute to incorporate all the people in one liberal ſociety, appears to me the rational method

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for conveying to aliens and foreigners the genuine principles of fidelity and allegiance.

This policy, however, ſeems only applicable to colonial ſettlements; for I ſuſpect that, in a great nation, to mix and compound the breed in the ſame manner might baſtardize the native character and genius of the people at large. If the elementary principles of national character are bad, nothing remains in the power of the political phyſician, but to alter and regulate its direction; for it is incapable of being entirely changed to advantage, and will always be, ſuch as it is, better than when adulterated by the introduction of foreign ingredients.

Colonies, therefore, in their original conſtitution, contain principles of a heterogeneous nature; and this circumſtance, in connection with their diſtance from the ſeat of the ſovereign, will in a great meaſure account for their ſubſequent depravity. His remote ſituation not only excluding the coloniſt from places of diſtinction at home, but likewiſe from the honours

honours and emoluments of the firſt places in the colony, produces a humiliating ſenſe of ſubordination, and gradually corrupts and eſtranges his mind from allegiance to the parent kingdom. This evil, however, neceſſarily ariſes from his inferior circumſtances, and from the ſovereign's ignorance of thoſe individuals in the colony, into whoſe hands power and confidence might be ſafely entruſted. Beſides, a turn of mind peculiar to the planter, occaſioned by a phyſical difference of conſtitution, climate, cuſtoms, and education, tends ſtill more to repreſs the remains of his former attachment to his native ſoil. Whoever has attended to the ſtriking peculiarities which often obtain between the inhabitants of different provinces, cities, and even villages of the ſame kingdom, will eaſily conceive the powerful influence of this principle. Now if, in the courſe of human affairs, any critical ſituation in the circumſtances of the mother country ſhould happen to concur with this jealous and irritated temper of the colonies, it is likely to be embraced by certain popular leaders

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as the proper moment for revolt; while pride, luxury, and the love of innovation, actuating the minds of all orders of men, may ſuggeſt claims to independance, and prompt them finally to withdraw that allegiance which they have learned to conſider as a foreign yoke.

Colonial depravity ſeems to be leſs incident to an iſland than to a more extended territory; and therefore I would recommend an inſular in preference to a continental ſituation, for the purpoſe of diſtant ſettlements. Exorbitant fortunes, which always ſuppoſe great inequality of property, are almoſt peculiar to an extenſive country, and ſeldom fall to the ſhare of individuals reſiding within the moderate bounds of an iſland; beſides, the more difficult intercourſe that neceſſarily ſubſiſts between two iſlands, will render their union more incomplete than that between two provinces on the ſame continent. Each iſland will acquire a character peculiar to itſelf, and adverſe from an intimate coalition with its neighbour; whilſt ſameneſs of ſituation, leading both to ſimilar purſuits, may

may be expected to create in the minds of their respective inhabitants the jealousy and antipathy of rival states.

I was at some pains to consider the present state of our Antilles islands; and I am satisfied, from every thing I had access to observe, that citizens, according to their respective characters, education, and circumstances, should be made to fill the hard and laborious as well as the more easy and respectable departments of the colony. This is the arrangement of nature, and arises from the ordinary progress of human society—an arrangement, however, which was checked in our western islands, by the early introduction of a system of slavery, which, for moral turpitude, has no example in the history of mankind. The European no sooner arrives in the colony, than he conceives himself a man of a certain condition, and would blush to exercise the same manual occupation he used to practise at home. He joins his countrymen, not to work, but to indulge; and hence the poor negro is saddled not only with that labour nature intended for his master,

maſter, but likewiſe with what properly belongs to the inferior animals. It therefore follows, that while the lazy breed of white men increaſes, the uſeful and laborious blacks are daily on the decline. The planter's diminiſhed ſtock muſt be recruited by freſh importations from the coaſt of Guinea; and thus, by a rapid and unnatural conſumption of the natives, the regions from which they are obtained muſt be gradually reduced to deſolation. The cruel effects of this inhuman traffic are already felt in the thin population of theſe ſable tribes; and, from the art and chicane which the African dealer learns from the European merchant, the advance in the price of negroes may be expected to bear no proportion to the actual ſcarcity of ſlaves.

In a country where the beauty of climate is only equalled by fertility of ſoil, the race of Europeans degenerates as it increaſes; and after depriving the colony of uſeful labourers by exceſſive toil and ſeverity, many of them remain a burden upon the ſettlement, or fall a ſacrifice to their own idleneſs, extravagance, and ſenſuality.

ſuality. How different from theſe colonies, in population and manners, are the provinces of Canada and Louiſiana! In the latter, though with a more ſtubborn ſoil, the planter is not degraded in his own, nor in the eſtimation of others, by cultivating his farm with his own hands. His conſtitution is not impaired by the indulgence of idleneſs and intemperance, nor does the improvement of his fields depend on the toil of a reluctant ſlave, who has no more flattering proſpect than that of ending his days amidſt the rigours of extreme labour and puniſhment. Reſpecting what is commonly ſaid of the heat and pernicious influence of climate on the European conſtitution, I conceive it to be merely an apology for pride and indolence; ſince it is evident, that the fibres of the negro, born under the vertical rays of the ſun, muſt be much more relaxed, and therefore leſs in a condition for labour and exerciſe, than thoſe of the European who deſcends from more temperate regions. In fine, I have had occaſion to remark, that ignorance and indifference on the part of the

the mother country, regarding the government of her colonies, frequently engenders inſolence and rapacity in certain individuals, whoſe conduct tends to ſubvert the commerce, and ſhake the ſtability of her foreign ſettlements.——I return to the Philippine iſlands.

The Engliſh, with a vigilance peculiar to themſelves in matters relating to commerce, perceiving the great importance of making an eſtabliſhment in theſe iſlands, when Manilla, by the articles of peace, was reſtored to the Spaniards, formed an alliance with the king of Holo, and eſtabliſhed a colony on his dominions. Their ſhips which have occaſion to proceed to China late in the ſeaſon, are obliged to ſail through the Philippine archipelago; and therefore they have been at infinite pains to acquire an accurate knowledge of this navigation, a navigation which in time of war affords acceſs to the Indian ocean, introduces them to a commerce with the whole of theſe iſlands at preſent in the hands of the Chineſe, favours their illicit trade with the Dutch ſettlements

and the Molucca iſles, and may, on ſome future occaſion, facilitate the conqueſt of one or more of thoſe countries, whether Indian, Spaniſh, or Dutch.

If the reader is inclined to regard theſe obſervations as idle and extravagant, let him reflect for a moment on the active and aſpiring genius of the Engliſh, and he will find, that among them the moſt inſignificant of the people is frequently actuated by all the zeal and enterprize of a patriotic citizen; that his ſpeculations on the great intereſts of his country are not treated with contempt merely becauſe they fall from an obſcure individual; that, ſince thoſe diſtant regions are rarely viſited but by men of inferior condition, who emigrate for the improvement of their fortune, the miniſter of that enlightened country is ſenſible he can derive ſuch information only from perſons of this deſcription; that the exact bearing of a cape, poſition of a canal, mountain, or harbour, diſcoveries of little moment at firſt view, may be found by men of their character, ardent to have a permanent ſettlement in that part of the

the globe, of eſſential importance. In a word, let him recollect, that theſe are actually the means whereby the Engliſh have been enabled to complete their conqueſts in America, to acquire a moſt extenſive dominion in India, and to open to themſelves different avenues to the capital of Mexico.

The preſent commerce of Manilla, excluſive of a coaſting trade with the Biſſayan iſles, is confined to one or two ſhips, employed to purchaſe goods at Macao, and five or ſix Chineſe veſſels, which import commodities from Canton and Quemoy. They diſpatch but rarely a ſingle ſhip to Siam, Bengal, or the coaſt of Coromandel; and, beſides the galleon of New Spain, loaded with the produce of China and Bengal, they ſend one to Batavia, whence they are ſupplied with the goods and manufactures of Europe. As there was no ſhip to ſail from Manilla ſooner than that bound for Batavia towards the beginning of March, I choſe to embrace this opportunity of continuing my travels.

CHAP. XII.

A Voyage from Manilla to Batavia, on the Iſland of Java; and my Abode in that City.

I Sailed from Manilla for Batavia, the 7th of March 1769, in a ſmall Spaniſh veſſel, with a fair wind at eaſt. We paſſed the Marybelles and the point of Caponnes on our ſtarboard, and ſoon came up with the iſlands Luban and Mindoro; but being unable to diſcover the iſland Paragoa, we were not without apprehenſion of running on certain ſand-banks ſituated northward from the ſoundings of Pulo Saputo. We entered the ſound of this little iſland, with from thirty to forty fathoms water, on a bottom of ſand mixed with ſhells, and diſcovered Pulo Saputo, which is a rock in the perfect form of a ſhoe. North of it, at the diſtance of three leagues, is a cluſter of other little iſlands, or rather rocks, which are eſteemed ſomewhat dangerous

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in this navigation. The wind, which had greatly diminiſhed as we turned Pulo Saputo, began to freſhen; and having no confidence in the S. E. at this ſeaſon, it being now the 20th of March, we ſtood out to ſea from the mouth of the gulph of Siam, and preſently came in view of the iſlands Anambas and Natuna. We ſaw Pulo Aor, and ſoon afterwards the iſles of Saint Eſprit. Between Saint Eſprit and the iſlands that form the entrance to the ſtreights of Malacca, we had very little depth of water, our ſoundings being only eight fathom, on a muddy bottom. We had made but ſhort way, when we were admoniſhed by violent ſqualls of our approach to the iſland *Sumatra*; and we ſoon diſcovered the mountains of Monopin, in the north of the iſland of Banca. Here we ſtood away towards Sumatra, and ſteered along the coaſt, keeping clear of the ſhore, as well as the point of Banca. As we paſſed the mouth of the Palimban, a river in Sumatra, we ſaw a Dutch veſſel taking in a cargo of pepper. We entered the ſtreights, and ſailed along the ſhore in

only ſix fathoms water. The ſea running extremely high, with little wind, we were deſirous of coming to anchor; but finding we had occaſion for a ſupply of freſh water, we paſſed the ſtreights, and moored in five fathoms, a ſtone's caſt from the iſlands of Nanca. This, however, being a critical ſituation for ſmall veſſels ſuch as ours, by reaſon of the Malay pirates who infeſt the ſtreights, we made all poſſible diſpatch to get again under weigh; and the next day, having doubled Nort-water, we had a diſtant view of the iſland Java. We were now ſurrounded with a thouſand ſmall iſlands, in a current which ran with great impetuoſity, and we thought it adviſeable to come to and drop an anchor. We again got under ſail with more favourable weather, and doubling Sud-water and the iſle of Edam, we moored the 15th of April in the road of Batavia. The flag-ſtaff of a Dutch fort, erected on this little iſland, appeared over the tops of the trees, which, with a number of labourers, was the firſt object that caught our notice. The approach to the iſle of Edam from the

S. E.

S. E. is greatly incommoded with a reef of rocks, which require much caution in the pilot in order to avoid them.

The road of Batavia is large, handſome, and ſecure, but attended with two objects of danger, proper to be deſcribed for the benefit of navigators. The firſt, lying in the E. and in the way to the ordinary ſtation of ſhipping in the road, we left on our larboard, at a conſiderable diſtance. The ſecond is equally diſtant, on the ſide of the main, from the ſhip's ſtation, which is at a good quarter of a league from land, and oppoſite to the canal of Batavia. The former is diſtinguiſhed by ſeveral croſſes erected for the purpoſe of beacons; and, as the veſſels which have buſineſs in the Archipelago or the Molucca iſles have no temptation to approach ſo near the land, is of little conſequence. But the latter may eaſily interfere with ſuch ſhips on a tack as have occaſion to touch at the iſland Honduras, or on the coaſt of the mainland, near the ſtreights of the ſound. This is pointed out to the mariner's notice by a

pole, on the top of which is an object in the form of a triangle.

The road is formed, on the ſide of the land, by a vaſt curvature of the coaſt, in the manner of an amphitheatre, whoſe extremities project conſiderably into the ſea; and on that of the ocean by a number of little iſlands, on which the Dutch have erected arſenals, magazines, and workhouſes. At Honduras we had the firſt brilliant example of Dutch induſtry, conſiſting in windmills conſtructed for the purpoſe of ſawing timber.

I proceeded directly to Batavia, which is ſituated about half a league from the ſhore, and at the head of a very beautiful canal, in excellent repair, and capable of admitting veſſels of four hundred tons burthen. The city is extremely populous, has a handſome caſtle, and the garriſon, as well as the other inhabitants, conſiſt chiefly of Europeans. Though regularly, it is *weakly* fortified; but, by means of canals and avenues of large trees, which occupy and interſect the adjacent grounds,

grounds, and which might be eaſily converted into an infinite number of intrenchments, it ſeems to me capable of being put into a very ſtrong ſtate of defence.

From all I could learn during four months I ſpent in Batavia and its environs, the ſettlements of the Dutch in India ſeem to be held by a much more precarious tenure than thoſe of their neighbours the Spaniards in the Philippine iſles. Since the firſt ſettlement of the Dutch in this part of the world, they have taken no pains to incorporate the natives with their own ſubjects; on the contrary, their conduct and deportment towards the Indians, have been ſuch as to render the latter highly indignant, and impatient of their government. The Hollanders are neither inſenſible to the diſaffection of the Indians nor to the advantages of their trade; and hence that chequered policy, in which they employ force, flattery, or diſſimulation, as may ſeem moſt conducive to their preſent views. They are engaged in frequent wars with the Indians, and in perpetual dread of hoſtilities, even from thoſe who

who live in the neighbourhood of Batavia; and, were any diſaſtrous event happening in the affairs of the commonwealth to divert a ſtrict attention to their colonies in the Eaſt, we might ſoon ſee the reign of theſe republicans finally terminate in thoſe regions. This is what may be called the want of colonial ſtability, a defect partly owing to the Indians never having been brought to conform in matters of religion; but much more to that commercial avarice and rapacity which have frequently engaged the Dutch in meaſures ſo ſcandalouſly baſe and ſanguinary, as could not fail to excite in the breaſts of the natives ſentiments of the moſt implacable hatred and reſentment to their perſons and intereſts.

The Dutch ſettlement in the iſland of Java preſents a large field for diſcuſſion; but I ſhall ſay even little of what I have either ſeen or have ſufficient reaſon to believe; becauſe the great reſort of ſtrangers, Europeans as well as Aſiatics, to this road; the vaſt commerce of the Dutch, to which Batavia ſerves as the principal mart; the unaffected beauty of the capital; its canals,

walks,

walks, and gardens; the regularity of the Batavian houſes; the number, and ſumptuous manners, of the Dutch merchants; the immenſe population of Indians, Moors, Chineſe, and Portugueſe; their numerous families of ſlaves; the reſources requiſite to maintain and carry on ſo extenſive and various a commerce; the force of their arms, which are in condition to countroul and govern many warlike and potent princes; —in a word, all the chief objects of enquiry relative to the actual ſtate of this country, have been fully conſidered by preceding travellers.

I found much entertainment in rambling about the ſtreets of Batavia; each of which preſents the gay and pleaſant effect of a beautiful walk. On either ſide is a regular row of houſes, veneered with a kind of teſſelated bricks. Along the wall of each houſe, and two or three ſteps above the level of the ground, runs a ſpecies of terrace, which is ſeparated from that of the adjoining building by benches, and covered with tents or booths for the accommodation of the proprietor and his friends. Beneath

neath this terrace is a ſpace of ſix or ſeven feet in width, paved with flag-ſtones, which forms a path for the convenience of foot-paſſengers. Contiguous to the path is a much larger ſpace, covered with fine ſand and gravel, intended for the uſe of carriages; and, laſt of all, appears a row of buſhy evergreens, clipt into the form of a fan, which lines each ſide of a canal of running water, about thirty yards in breadth. Under the ſhade of theſe trees is another little terrace, neatly paved, and riſing by a flight of ſteps above the level of the ſtreet. The canal is confined by walls, with ſtairs at certain intervals, for the purpoſes of navigation; and on the oppoſite ſide of the water the ſtreet is in exact uniformity with that which has now been deſcribed.

The caſtle is one of the moſt beautiful objects I have ever ſeen; and from the uniform and chaſte ſimplicity obſerved in the military as well as rural diſpoſition of the adjacent grounds, does great honour to the artiſt. The ſuburbs of Batavia are divided into three diſtricts, and ſeparated from

from one another by large intervals, which are occupied by gardens laid out in good taſte.

The firſt diſtrict is compoſed of Portugueſe heretics, and Indians from Bengal or the Malabar coaſt. Their ſtreets and houſes are in the ſtile of the Dutch, but on a ſmaller ſcale.

The ſecond, conſiderably larger and more populous than the former, is the chief reſidence of the Chineſe, who, by their unwearied buſtle in the ſtreets, and application to the buſineſs of their ſhops, afford a ſtriking picture of the active and induſtrious genius of this extraordinary people. Their houſes, except thoſe of the richer ſort which have an elegant ſimplicity, are miſerably built. They are low, the apartments wretchedly contrived, and, from their great population, ſtrangely crouded together. Their ſtreets, extremely narrow and naſty, are beſides much incumbered with a curious aſſemblage of all the various articles of Chineſe induſtry and manufacture.

The third conſiſts of Indians, collected from

from the different iſlands of the vaſt archipelago, as well as from the various parts of the eaſtern continent. This diſtrict is more extenſive and rural, but much leſs populous, than either of the former. The houſes and gardens of the richer Moors from the peninſula of India, are in the Aſiatic taſte, and not inferior in beauty to thoſe of the moſt opulent among the Dutch; but the houſes of the poorer ſort are extremely ſimple. The Indian, ever chuſing to reſide in the vicinity of running water, which he makes frequent uſe of for ablution and other religious obſervances, commonly rears his cottage between two trees on the bank of a canal. It is very remarkable, that though ſprung from countries widely diſtant from one another, a few trifling differences excepted, they all obſerve the ſame rites, manners, and cuſtoms. Many are rude and uncultivated; but they are generally fair in their dealings, ſimple and unaffected in their dreſs, ſober and temperate in their diet. They ſubſiſt almoſt entirely on rice and fruit; and uſe the looſe flowing garments of the eaſtern nations. The

Indian from the Archipelago wears a kind of petticoat deſcending to the calf of the leg, a waiſtcoat widening as it approaches the hips, and over all a ſaſh or plaid, which anſwers the purpoſe of a ſurtout coat, and occaſionally ſerves to defend the perſon from the inclemencies of the ſeaſon. In fine weather this is worn like a large ſhoulder-belt, and is eſteemed an ornamental as well as uſeful piece of dreſs. The ſurtout, or great coat, is common to both ſexes, whoſe apparel is in all reſpects ſimilar, except that the waiſtcoat and petticoat of the women are generally black, and made to deſcend lower than thoſe of the men. The heads of the women are always uncovered, with their hair rolled or knotted on the crown, in the manner of the Chineſe. The men wear hats, made ſometimes of leaves, and large and flat, which have a ſtrong reſemblance to thoſe I firſt ſaw in the Philippine iſles. Others wear hats in their form reſembling a ſmall kettle, made of a very fine ſpecies of bark.

The intervals between the different diſtricts of ſuburbs, preſent to the eye Dutch gardens,

gardens, beautifully interſected by canals, and embelliſhed with artificial iſlands and rocks, in the ſame ſimple taſte with their houſes. The houſes of the Dutch are large, handſome, and convenient; though they ſeldom occupy more during the day-time than two galleries in oppoſite fronts. The firſt, which is employed as a drawing-room, is elegantly and comfortably furniſhed, and made to admit a free circulation of air—a circumſtance of great convenience in allaying the intenſe heat of the climate. One end of the ſecond gallery is appropriated to the maſter's private accommodation, for here he has his counting-houſe, clerks, books, and papers. In the oppoſite end is the apartment of the wife, who, amidſt her domeſtic concerns, her children, women, and ſlaves, ſuperintends the induſtry and œconomy of her family. The gardens of the Dutch merchants extend to the diſtance of a league and a half from Batavia, on both ſides of magnificent canals, lined with fine trees, which afford a cooling and perpetual ſhade. Here I ſaw the baſons or reſervoirs of ſeveral rivers,

rivers, which furniſh plentiful ſupplies of water over all the adjacent country, though by far the greateſt part of it is diverted into the canals of Batavia.

I ſpent my time very agreeably in this iſland, partly in the city, but more frequently in one of the gardens which I have now deſcribed. At Batavia I ſaw the Chineſe as well as the European comedy, and a ſpecies of Javaneſe opera, accompanied with dancing. There was a novelty in the natural and ſimple muſic of theſe countries, from which I derived much entertainment. The ceremonies attending the Javaneſe manner of burial, are extremely intereſting to a mind endued with ſenſibility. The mourner's plaintive lamentation, the tears and ſorrow of relations, the profuſion of flowers and odours ſcattered over the body of the deceaſed, are fine emblems of that ſweet and tender affection which ſubſiſted between the living and their departed friends.

In the vaſt concourſe of different nations from the old continent one perceives a diſtinctive phyſiognomy and character, which

are lively or ſerious, according as the reſpective places of their nativity are more or leſs removed from the regions under the line—a diverſity which ſeems at the ſame time to receive certain modifications from the nature of the ſoil and the quality of diet. Experience has very much confirmed me in the truth of this remark; though I confeſs I have obſerved in ſome inſtances, with more ſurprize, a ſtronger analogy between two people on the ſame continent, but widely diſtant from each other, than between two nations almoſt contiguous, the one of which is in Aſia and the other in Europe. This appearance might perhaps be beſt explained by recurring to the original ſources of their reſpective population.

The Chineſe temples, which ſtand without the walls of Batavia, are in the ſame good taſte obſervable in their private buildings: they are adorned with the ſtatues of Chineſe heroes and patriots, who after rendering eminent ſervices to their country during their lives, are now remembered by poſterity with gratitude and veneration. Before each ſtatue is an altar, in honour of which

which tapers are kept burning day and night; and at ſtated periods it is the buſineſs of the prieſt to offer ſacrifice, the nature or purpoſes of which I could not learn. The miniſter, however, appears in the evening before the altar, and having prayed and beat a drum, proceeds to burn bits of paper painted with various deſigns; and probably in this manner preſents gifts to the object of his religious worſhip. At a certain age of the moon theſe temples are magnificently illuminated with lamps and flambeaux; and indeed the greateſt part of their rites ſeem to be exerciſed in the myſterious uſe of light and ſound. Fire, I am told, is the ſymbol of that fervent love which ought to inflame their minds in the offices of devotion; while ſound ſerves to denote their earneſt and importunate deſire of being liſtened to in their prayers. I am much inclined to reſt ſatisfied with this commentary on the external means of Chineſe worſhip, as there appears an evident analogy between this religious noiſe and the uſe of the great drum which ſtood anciently at the door of the hall in the emperor of Chi-

na's palace. In former times every Chineſe ſubject had the privilege of beating it as often as he wiſhed to have an audience of the emperor; and it is ſaid his majeſty was never known to refuſe acceſs to his preſence the moment he heard the ſound of the great drum.

When a Chineſe virgin has attained that age which prepares her for the hymeneal rites, ſhe intimates her deſire of an alliance with the other ſex, by placing a ſet of flower-pots in the windows of her apartments. Marriage is contracted without the intervention of the ſlighteſt acquaintance between the two parties; and the wife of a rich Aſiatic would conceive it to be a vile profanation of her perſon, to be ſeen without the walls of the haram.

The Javaneſe are tall and well proportioned in their limbs, and preſent themſelves with a nobler air and more open countenance than the natives of the Philippine iſles. The Malaye Indians, on the other hand, have large and ſhort bodies, with ſomething extremely coarſe and ruſtic in the eyes and general expreſſion of the face.

face. As to the manners, however, of the Javaneſe, I am greatly at a loſs; for, having lodged in the houſe of an European, I had but little occaſion to frequent their company.

Many complaints are made of the unwholeſome nature both of the air and water at Batavia. For my part, though I drank nothing but pure water, and fed on fruit and vegetables alone, I never enjoyed, in any period of my life, better health than on the iſland of Java. This meagre diet, however, is very different from the manner of living in uſe among Europeans at Batavia; but I found it the food of the Indians, and it was much better ſuited to my natural taſte, and to all the ſober and temperate maxims of my life. Beſides many ſpecies of fruit and vegetables peculiar to thoſe climates, I met with every production of the European garden in great abundance. The regiſter-ſhip, which ſails annually in the month of March, being on the point of her departure, I ſeized this opportunity to write my friends in Europe.

The moſt ruinous policy, in my opinion, which can actuate a company of merchants, is that of interfering in the numberleſs feuds and animoſities of the Indian princes; and hence I maintain that the poſſeſſions of the Spaniards in the Philippine iſles reſt on a ſurer foundation than thoſe of either the Engliſh or Dutch in the Eaſt Indies. The Dutch were no ſooner ſettled on the iſland of Java, than inſtead of remaining like good and peaceable merchants behind their counters, they uniformly made it their buſineſs to mingle in all the antipathies and diſputes of the natives. Conſtantly at war with one prince or another, perhaps to their misfortune they have been almoſt as conſtantly ſucceſsful. War, however, once kindled in theſe regions, like a kind of hydra, ſeldom expires without giving birth to many more. I found, upon my arrival at Batavia, that they had juſt concluded two; one at Malacca, and the other in the Molucca iſles; a third in the eaſt of Java, was then upon their hands, and they were buſily preparing for a fourth in Sumatra, againſt the king of Palimban.

The Dutch company, under the pretext of doing honour to the emperor of Java, but in fact with no other view than to their own ſecurity, maintain two companies of European cavalry in his ſervice. Every avenue leading to the city is lined with a chain of forts; and though Batavia is defended by a numerous garriſon, beſides a ſtrong body of Europeans, divine ſervice and the execution of criminals are always performed with ſhut gates.

The Indian kings in alliance with the Dutch are crowned by the council of Batavia; and when at any time the right of ſucceſſion happens to be diſputed, the claims of that pretender moſt in the company's intereſt are invariably ſuſtained, and, by force or artifice, he is certain to ſucceed to the throne.

It is a maxim in the policy of the Dutch, to ſuit themſelves to the natural conceit and vanity of theſe Eaſtern princes, to flatter them with much outward ſhew of regal grandeur, but at the ſame time to ſtrip them of all real conſequence; and thus, provided the Dutch can get poſſeſſion

of the ſubſtance, the Indian may amuſe himſelf with the ſhadow of majeſty. The king of Palimban having by ſome means given umbrage to the council of Batavia, I ſaw his miniſter arrive, inſtructed to make every apology in his maſter's name; and his reception was ſuch as becomes the repreſentative of a great monarch. It is the duty of the youngeſt in the court of *edlers* to introduce ſtrangers to an audience of the company, and therefore the *chabandar*, as he is called, attended by a numerous retinue, went to compliment him on his arrival. He was received with great ceremony, and his credentials being delivered to the chabandar under the diſcharge of artillery, were placed on a cuſhion ſupported by a large ſilver vaſe, which was carried by a company's officer. The proceſſion getting into motion, the embaſſador, eſcorted by a detachment of the company's troops, was conducted to the caſtle; where being introduced to the council, the peruſal of his inſtructions began and ended with the firing of cannon and muſketry. The embaſſador

dor withdrew, and the council of elders broke up.

The rank of counſellor, but above all the high office of preſident, is inveſted with much honour and diſtinction. The coach of the latter is conſtantly attended by a body of cavalry, and preceded by a company of trumpeters, who announce the perſon of his excellency to the public. At his approach, carriages of all denominations ſtop on the road, while male and female make haſte to deſcend and do him homage as he paſſes. The honour of having two running footmen, a band of muſic, and a train of coaches, is peculiar to the members of council; and carriages muſt ſtand and give way to them as to the governor general, but inſtead of deſcending, it is only required that the people ſhall riſe from their places.

Gentlemen merchants, who take precedence immediately after members of council, have the excluſive privilege of riding in gilded coaches. Carriages at Batavia are ſubjected to a very heavy impoſition; but it is remarkable that the quantity of

of this tax is in the *inverſe ratio* of the ſubject's rank; inſomuch that while a member of council pays a mere trifle, the inferior orders of men are made to contribute a great deal. If it is in the policy of this regulation to diſcourage carriages as a luxury, I have no objection to it; but I was not a little ſurprized to find, in the colony of a republic, and in a company of merchants, more etiquette and oſtentation of ſuperior rank than we uſually meet with in the firſt claſs of European nobility.

The Spaniards live in the quiet and undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their iſlands, and having in general nothing to dread from their own people, have leiſure to turn their arms againſt the hoſtile deſigns of a foreign enemy; and yet the ſubjects of Spain in thoſe parts, making allowance for the difference in extent of territory, are much more numerous than thoſe of the allied kings, or rather tributaries, of the Dutch.

The conſequence attached to the perſon of a Spaniard in a public office is chiefly conferred upon him as a repreſentative of the parent ſtate; and it is not very conſiderable,

able, either in reſpect of power or honour: his perſonal conduct and character form his beſt recommendation to reſpect and eſteem. An alcade, without the aſſiſtance of a ſingle bayonet, rules over ten thouſand Indians, who diſlike him, it is true, as much as the natives of Java can hate the Dutch, but ſtill they remain in unſhaken allegiance to the Spaniards, a problem which can only be explained from the ſameneſs of religion that ſubſiſts between the Philippine iſles and the mother country, but more eſpecially, I ſuſpect, from the influence of the monks or parochial clergy, who have greater conſequence in maintaining good order among the natives than even the terror of an armed force.

The conduct of the Dutch in the adminiſtration of their diſtant ſettlements is at leaſt equally exceptionable with that of the Spaniards. The miſerable ſtate of the natives who have the misfortune to live immediately under their authority, and their inhuman maſſacre of Indians and Chineſe for venturing to oppoſe the torrent of Batavian oppreſſion, are ſtriking examples of the

the tyrannical maxims which actuate the tools of this mercantile government. During my ſhort reſidence at Batavia the Dutch beheaded one Indian, and impaled another with circumſtances of ſuch ſavage barbarity, as I believe are ſcarce to be paralleled in the annals of Turky. The laſt unhappy man remained ſix days alive upon the ſtake, and was permitted, among thoſe who call themſelves Chriſtians, to expire at laſt in the wind and rain under all the agony of his wounds. A prince from the Philippine archipelago had been condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and was then living in a cell immediately over the gate of the caſtle; while an Indian of the ſame rank, from the iſland of Ceylon, was juſt ſentenced to a ſimilar puniſhment.

I do not mean, however, to defend the policy of the Spaniards, or to ſay that in the records of their government abroad one cannot find ſimilar inſtances of barbarity and oppreſſion. Their cruel perſecution of the innocent natives of Mexico, with the preſent mean and indigent ſtate of Montezuma's deſcendants, while they wound

wound the feelings of humanity, carry down to lateſt generations an indelible ſtain in the page of hiſtory. The calamitous fate of the Datou's ſucceſſors in the Philippine iſles, and that horrid ſlaughter of Indian and Chineſe, which enſued upon their unhappy revolt, are farther examples of the ſame brutal and unrelenting policy. But one of the moſt extraordinary inſtances of colonial vexation, whether under the Dutch, Engliſh, or Spaniards, is that of a young Indian prince, who being forced into exile by the violence of his enemies, expected compaſſion under his misfortunes within the walls of Manilla: he had large poſſeſſions in Mindanao and Borneo, was king of Holo and ſeveral other adjacent iſlands. Compelled, however, to take the field againſt his uncle, in defence of his juſt rights, he was defeated in battle, and withdrew to Luconia, hoping to receive ſuccours from the generoſity of the Spaniards. He arrived at Manilla with great riches; and delivered to the governor, as a preſent for the king of Spain, two curious pearls of ſurprizing ſize and elegance. He had been

educated

educated in the religion of Mahomet; but with a view to ingratiate himſelf into the favour of his new allies, after diſmiſſing his wives he embraced Chriſtianity, and was admitted to baptiſm. In ſpite, however, of every compliance on his part, his neareſt relations were ſubjected in his preſence to the indignity of the whip, and reduced to the meaneſt condition of ſlavery; while the unfortunate prince himſelf, ſtripped of his property, and overwhelmed in all the miſery of poverty and deſpair, was confined to a dungeon. There he remained, bereaved of every earthly comfort, till the arrival of the Engliſh at the gates of Manilla, who opened the doors of his priſon, and reſtored him to his ſubjects.

I cannot believe, however, that any ſuch inſtances of perfidy and injuſtice in the Spaniſh colonies are countenanced by the parent ſtate. It appears that the inſtructions of the court of Spain to her delegates in theſe iſlands have always been favourable to the happineſs of the Indians; and hence the regulation above-mentioned for the encouragement of marriage between their own

own ſubjects and the natives, undoubtedly one of the beſt inſtitutions that can be imagined for eſtabliſhing a national colony. To this cauſe is chiefly to be attributed the decline of national arrogance among the Spaniards, as well as the great increaſe of Indian ſubjects, who conſider themſelves in all reſpects as citizens of the ſame ſtate. Now, until the Dutch condeſcend to imitate, particularly in this inſtance, the wiſer policy of Spain, their ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies can only be regarded as precarious boards of trade, eſtabliſhed in diſtant and diſaffected countries.

I have not troubled the reader with any account of the animal and vegetable productions in the neighbourhood of Batavia, becauſe, from the conſtant reſort of European nations to this iſland, they muſt before this time be ſufficiently known to the public; I ſhall therefore but briefly mention, that one night I met an animal, which appeared to me of an extraordinary ſpecies: it had extremely ſhort legs, toes, and claws, a long tail, a ſnout drawing to a point, a lively eye, and an aſpect peculiarly

arly mild and placid; being covered with a coat of ſcales, each at leaſt an inch in diameter, I imagine it is the armadilla. I happened to be in company with a Swiſs officer, who, as it was found croſſing the ſtreet from the ſide of the canal, miſtaking it for a *cayman*, gave it a ſtroke with his couteau-de-chaſſe, but, owing to the reſiſtance of the ſcales, it ſeemed to receive no manner of injury; not doubting that in all events it was an animal of a noxious ſpecies, I thruſt at it with my ſmall ſword, and pierced its body under the mail. The creature feeling itſelf wounded inſtantly aſſumed the form of a bowl, and perceiving a ſlope in the ground, rolled with ſurprizing velocity inſtinctively towards the water. Having ſhoved him to the top of the bank, he was ſeized, and carried ſuſpended by the tail to my lodgings; here he ſurvived his misfortunes only ſeven or eight days, in the courſe of which he became ſomewhat familiar, ſhewed an inclination to make himſelf a hole in the floor, and was almoſt conſtantly covered with ants. Whether theſe inſects were attracted

tracted by any particular quality in his nature, or merely by the effluvia of his wounds, I cannot say; but to the best of my observation he seemed to eat them. When at any time he caught my eye directed towards him, he presently collected his head and feet under his back and tail, and became a globular mass of scales. He is named, as I have been told, in the Portuguese language, *bishou bergougnosou*, or the little blushing animal.

Intending to visit Bombay, the only safe, commodious, and strongly-fortified harbour on the mainland of India, I took my passage in an English vessel bound to Surat, but which, for certain commercial reasons, was to touch at that port.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.